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SOME EVIDENCE FOR EARLY ROMANTIC PLAYS IN ENGLAND—*Concluded*

The pageantry and disguisings of the courtly groups often took some of the popular forms that have been described. But apparently very early the art of love allegory with its elaboration and imaginative splendor, separating courtly literature from popular, wooing dialogues of spring festivals, from simple Valentine customs etc., changed the May Day bower into paradise or castle with its presiding god and goddesses, and brought formal organizations of the noble for the celebration of May and other spring fêtes.¹ Some such organizations as those of the Flower and the Leaf seem to have existed in England.² Naturally any pageant or play of one of these organizations was likely to show a Diana or Pallas, a Venus or Cupid, or to present some form of court of love symbolism. Without dramatic form, Lydgate's masques illustrate such conceptions early in the fifteenth century. One of these "mummings" brings to the King the report that Bacchus, Juno, and Ceres have sent him wine, oil, and wheat. Another is recited by Jupiter's messenger—who later appears as Mercury at the opening of a score of mythological plays in various parts of Europe. Still another has an elaborate description of the paradisiac garden and castle of Fortuna, which Lydgate himself refers to *Le Roman de la Rose*. A group of typical court of love abstractions, Nature, Grace, and Fortune, appear in a device of Lydgate's for 1432.³

Just when such pageantry became formal drama in England it is difficult to say. In Italy pure drama of the mythological type had developed by 1472 with Poliziano's *Orfeo*; but, while classical sources are followed in this play, the mount, the shepherds, including the comic Mopsus, the elements of song, etc., suggest the survival of

¹ Cf. Neilson, *Origins and Sources of the Court of Love*, pp. 251-56, and references given by Neilson; Burckhardt, *The Renaissance in Italy*, pp. 415-28; Marsh, *Modern Philology*, IV, 139, 145-47; Piaget, *Romania*, XX, 417-54; etc. The wealthy gilds also developed early their formal organizations and their classical symbolism.

² Kittredge, *Mod. Phil.*, I, 1 ff.

³ Cf. Brotanek, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-16, 306 ff.; Chambers, II, 169; Lydgate's *Minor Poems*, Percy Soc., pp. 1 ff.

mediaeval festival tradition.¹ This and a number of other plays go to show that the mythological drama of Europe is merely courtly pageantry taking on dramatic form. Several similar plays are recorded in Italy before 1500. In France, a "mystère du jugement de Pâris, ou de la fable des trois déesses Junon, Pallas, et Vénus" was presented in 1498 at Nantes for the flattery of Queen Anne.² Early in the sixteenth century, mythological plays were well known in the Netherlands also.³ One of these, *Pluto and Proserpina*, for which there is record of performances in 1519, 1534, and 1551 at various places, has obvious mediaeval and festival color. An induction with allegorical figures prefaces the play, and one character sings a song in praise of May. In the play itself Proserpina plants her "May branch." Plays with court of love conventions, also, are recorded early for France. One French farce⁴ that may belong to the fifteenth century represents Cupid as deciding a gross love debate. The abstractions of love allegory appear in Andrieu de la Vigne's *Honneur des Dames*, about 1500, a play showing a court of love combat. Creizenach correctly, I think, associates with love allegory the drama *Pipée* with its bird figures and its love themes.⁵

Out of this type of pageantry and play developed the disguisings of Henry VIII's reign. They clearly carry on older conventions, conventions that had perhaps already found expression in formal drama in England during the fifteenth century. Several records indicate that before Henry VIII's reign the same material was used and the same method of presentation prevailed. Such are Hall's reference in 1517 to the *Garden de Esperans* as "according to the old custome,"⁶ and the surviving records of a number of disguisings at the marriage of Prince Arthur in 1501 which are not only like later pageants in England but like earlier ones in England and on the Continent. Further, a record for Twelfth Night, 1494, shows that the same arrangement was carried out as on this festival night in

¹ Creizenach, II, 205, 206; Marsan, *op. cit.*, p. 12; Greg, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-64.

² Le Braz, *Essai sur l'histoire du théâtre celtique*, p. 262.

³ Creizenach, III, 474 ff.

⁴ Cf. Neilson, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

⁵ I, 479 f.; Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire*, pp. 73 ff. and 255 f.; cf. Creizenach, III, 38, for *Le Dict des Jardiniers*, about 1530, another French play of the type.

⁶ *Henry VIII*, fol. lix. Even though Hall may be contrasting this pageant with the Italian masque, which he emphasized as a new thing in 1512 (fol. xvi), the phrase suggests the antiquity of the type of disguising.

many a later year; that is, a banquet was followed by an interlude as a prelude to the pageant and disguisings for dance and knightly combat. The account reads: "that nyght in Westminster halle was a greate bankett . . . where theyre was a playe, with a pageant of S^t george with a castle, and also xij lordes knights and Esquyers with xij dysguysed which dyd daunce."¹

Though the records of the disguisings at the court of Henry VIII are known, a summary of some notable ones seems worth while in order to emphasize, first, the dramatic rather than the pageant character of a number of these entertainments; and, secondly, the practically exhaustive use of the conventions of love allegory, and the frequent use of the conventions of knightly adventure—the two popular types of mediaeval romance. In regard to dramatic form, the accounts of several of the entertainments discussed show that they were real interludes dealing with the conventional motives of both forms of romance. Moreover, in the less dramatic disguisings whose *raison d'être* was the introduction of the elaborate pageant and the dance or combat, there are frequent indications that a complete story with much dialogue was presented. Finally, Hall, Cavendish, and Tyndale all use the words "play" and "interlude" as synonymous with disguising.² The extensive use of romantic motives at the court to the practical exclusion of moral allegory in the entertainments described and the frequent repetition of conventional romantic settings suggest that many a lost romantic drama is recorded in the annals of the time simply as "a play" or "an interlude."

As indicating the range and the significance of these entertainments, I shall notice some typical court of love settings with the occasional suggestion of their use for drama as well as for dance, some typical court of love themes, and some themes from romantic story. The fundamental setting for love allegory was an idealized nature scene with a temple or arbor.³ The entertainment of February 12 and 13, 1511, had the paradise and bower with the conventional love groups, and, as in many a court of love poem, this

¹ Harl. MS 6113, fol. 169. Quoted by Reyher, *Les Masques anglais*, p. 6, n. 3.

² Brotanek, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

³ The arbor seems to have been represented at the marriage of Arthur in 1501, for after one evening's interlude a pageant appeared that was "an herbour" with a gate from which issued twelve knights. The ladies in the disguising, however, were presented in a brilliantly lighted "Lanthorne." Reyher, *Les Masques anglais*, pp. 502-3.

setting only formed the brilliant center for adventures in arms and love designed to harmonize with it. After two days of jousting, in which the various phases of picturesque adventures of knights were represented—"Chiualers de la forrest saluigne" tilting; a pageant drawn by a lion and an antelope led by woodwoses, introducing a castle, rocks, hills and dales, trees, flowers, foresters in green, etc.; knights disguised for the tourney as recluses or pilgrims or appearing in castle or turret, pageant-wise—the banquet of the second night was followed by the usual play that preceded the disguising.¹ Then entered the pageant, "The Golldyn Arber in the Arche yerd of Plesyer." Both the paradisiac garden and the arbor, where in court of love poetry Pleasure or some character symbolic of joyous pastime presided, are described by Hall: "in a garden of pleasure there was an arber of golde, wherein were lordes and ladies . . . therein were trees of Hathorne, Eglantines, Rosiers, Vines and other pleas-aunt floures of diuers colours, with Gillofers and other herbes. . . . In whiche arber were .vi. ladies . . . also was the kyng & .v. with him." The King and his followers bore the names Cuer loyall, Bone voloyre, Bone espoier, Valyaunt desyre, Bone foy, and Armoure loyall, and the first four had been used in the jousts of the previous day. The announcement of the messenger and the answer of the Queen before the curtain fell showing the pageant were probably not the only dramatic features. Besides the lords and ladies of the bower, the minstrels without and children singing on the top, Cornish and a group were stationed at the foot of the pageant "dysgysyd," and their function may have been to perform some dramatic part, for a standish set on a desk at the base of the pageant for the subdean—who was dressed in a garment having forty winged faces—suggests some sort of court of love trial.² Similar settings in pageants were utilized frequently later.

The love paradises were usually set on a mount, as in "The Arche yerd of Plesyer" apparently. At the marriage of Arthur a Mount of Love appeared in one pageant described below, and another pageant had two hills joined by chains, one green with

¹ This play may have set forth a story of sea adventures, for the only detail in regard to it besides Hall's "diuers fresh songes" is the payment for "2 garments like shipmen's, for 2 gentlemen of the chapel who sang in the play."

² *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, II, 1494 ff.; Hall, fol. ix ff.

marvelous trees, herbs, and flowers for twelve knights, and the other like a reddish rock decorated with gold, copper, crystal, amber, etc., with a lady disguised as a Princess of Spain on top and with twelve ladies "in the small hilles vppon the sides."¹ In connection with the mount, a cave appears several times. In the pageant *Riche Mount* presented on Twelfth Night, 1513, the mount opened and allowed six ladies to come out, who danced and then re-entered, the mount closing after them.² The pageant after *Love and Riches*, 1527, was a mount with gilt towers set in a field of coral, roses, and pomegranates. In it "was seen a most verdant cave, approachable by four steps, each side being guarded by four . . . gentlemen of the Court. . . . Well grouped within the cave were eight damsels of such rare beauty as to be supposed goddesses."³ Though the cave home of the devotees of pleasure is not common in the court of love poems,⁴ the union of other settings of allegory with an ancient traditional setting going back through European culture and through its pageantry perhaps to hills of pagan gods of love and other-world beings, furnishes an excellent example of the wide range of the conventions of love allegory at Henry VIII's court. Another noticeable feature of the settings was a fountain. At the coronation of Henry VIII a "curious Fountain" with a castle over it was the setting in connection with the jousts between the Knights of Pallas and the Knights of Diana.⁵ On the occasion of the Latin "tragedy" of Cardinal Wolsey's rescue of the Pope and the two sons of the French king from the Emperor, 1527, there was a fountain flanked by a hawthorn and a mulberry tree, with eight ladies sitting on a bench, perhaps under the arbor mentioned in the payments.⁶ The most

¹ Reyher, *op. cit.*, pp. 503, 504. There is no indication of drama for this pageant symbolizing England, Spain, and the marriage.

² *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, II, 1499 f.; Hall, fol. xxii.

³ Hall, fol. clvii; *L. and P. Henry VIII*, IV, ccx f.; *Cal. State Papers: Venetian*, 1527-1533, p. 60.

⁴ Cf. Neilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-35, for Venusberg and references to discussions of the subject, and Barto, *Jour. of Eng. and Ger. Phil.*, XII, 295-303, for recent discussions.

⁵ Hall, fol. iv f.

⁶ Hall, fol. clxv f.; *L. and P. Henry VIII*, IV, 1603.

Other types of fountain appear. In jousts at Greenwich, in June, 1512, the King sat within a curious fountain with eight gargoyles spouting water. Ladies on coursers and a black castle called "The dolorous Castle" formed parts of the romantic setting for this knight of the fountain (Hall, fol. xxi). At the coronation of Anne Boleyn, Londoners presented a pageant of Mount Parnassus with the fountain of Helicon of white marble, running wine. Apollo and the Muses appeared.

important adjunct to the settings of love allegory, the castle, appears in many of the pageants of the time as a feature, not only of love allegory, but also of romantic adventure. As a court of love motive it is used most frequently in the reign of Henry VIII in connection with the siege of the Castle of Love discussed below.

As illustrating the typical themes of courtly poetry, three disguisings or plays of Henry VIII's reign may be noted first—a complaint, a triumph, and a debate. A disguising early in 1527 at Wolsey's entertainment of the King is described by Spinelli.¹ On a stage sat Venus, at whose feet were six damsels. With a flourish of trumpets a car appeared, "drawn by three boys stark naked, on which was Cupid, dragging after him, bound by a silver rope, six old men, clad in the pastoral fashion." Cupid complained to his mother in a Latin oration that the men had been cruelly wounded. Venus replied and "caused the six nymphs, the sweethearts of the six old men, to descend" and solace their lovers with a dance. *The tryumpe of Love and Bewte* for Twelfth Night, 1514, was scarcely less than a formal interlude. Features of the entertainment were a fool, a morris dance, a dialogue of Venus and Beauty, the triumph of the two over all enemies, and the taming of a savage man and a lion.² The debate is represented by an actual interlude, *Love and Riches*, performed at Greenwich, May 6, 1527, and described by Hall and Spinelli.³ Eight singers in two wings, with Mercury between, entered singing English songs. The singers retired, and Mercury, after a Latin oration in praise of the King, announced that Jupiter had appointed Henry to decide the dispute between Love and Riches. Mercury then withdrew, and eight young choristers entered, Love and three others on one side, and Riches and three others on the other. Justice, entering in the center with them, told the King in

¹ *Cal. State Papers: Venetian, 1527-1533*, ed. Brown, pp. 2-3; *L. and P. Henry VIII*, ed. Brewer, IV, cxlvii ff. On this occasion the *Menaechmi* was recited by the Cardinal's gentlemen. Cavendish's words, "I have seen the King suddenly come in thither in a mask, with a dozen of other maskers, all in garments like shepherds," are thought by Brewer to refer to this occasion (p. cxlix).

² Collier, *Hist. Dram. Poetry*, I, 69; *L. and P. Henry VIII*, I, 718 f.

³ *Cal. State Papers: Venetian, 1527-1533*, pp. 59-60; *L. and P. Henry VIII*, IV, ccvi ff.; Hall, fol. clvii. Various artists were employed, including Holbein. In describing the affair Spinelli commented on the "order, regularity, and silence" of English entertainments, and the Milanese ambassador declared that Henry's entertainments surpassed all efforts of other princes ancient or modern (*Cal. State Papers: Milan, 1585-1618*, p. 513).

English of the dispute. Love began his defense and Riches replied, "each of the choristers on either side defending their leaders by reciting a number of verses." Finally Love and Riches decided that "judgment should go by battle," whereupon three knights on each side combated under a triumphal arch at a gilt bar. According to Hall, an old man with a silver beard "concluded that loue & riches, both be necessarie for princes."¹

The siege of the Castle of Love, which is so conspicuous as a motive in court of love poetry, is first described fully for the marriage of Arthur in 1501. A castle was drawn into the hall with eight ladies in it and children in the towers singing. Then a ship entered, and the messengers Hope and Desire, descending from it, asked the ladies to yield to the knights of the Mount of Love. Their refusal was conveyed to the knights, who descended from the mount and besieged the castle until the ladies yielded. There must have been a complete dramatic story in the parleys of the ladies, the messengers, and the knights. The author of the account, indeed, comments on the naturalness of the action and speeches of the mariners.² Somewhat more elaborate was a similar disguising of 1522 given by the Cardinal on Shrove Tuesday.³ A castle was held by the ladies Beautie, Honor, Perseueraunce, Kyndnes, Constance, Bountie, Mercie, and Pitie, dressed in Milan gowns. "Undernethe the basse fortresse of the castle were other eyght ladyes . . . tired lyke to women of Inde," but only seven names are mentioned—Dangier, Disdain, Gelousie, Vnkyndnes, Scorne, Malebouche, Straungenes. Eight lords, Amorus, Noblenes, Youth, Attendaunce, Loyaltie, Pleasure, Gentlenes, and Libertie, led by Ardent Desire, "moued the ladies to geue ouer the Castle, but *Scorne* and *Disdain* sayed that they woulde holde the place, then *Desire* sayd the ladies shoulde be wonne, and came and encoraged the knyghtes." After a battle of comfits, the castle was taken, but Scorne and her company fought

¹ Brewer and Brown both use the names "Cupid" and "Plutus" in translating Spinelli, but where the names first occur Brown gives Spinelli's original as *Amor* and *La Richeza*. This interlude is very similar to the mythological parts of *The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune*.

² Reyher, *op. cit.*, pp. 501, 502. The ship was an ancient element of pageantry, and gave us the name "carnival." Cf. Burckhardt, *The Renaissance in Italy*, p. 419. "It is constantly met in English pageantry." Cf. Ellison, *op. cit.*, chap. i.

³ Hall, fol. lxxxii.

on until driven away. The dance followed. This allegory, as full of figures as the similar scenes of *Le Roman de la Rose*, probably required a considerable amount of dialogue in the presentation.¹

The particular convention of the siege of the Castle of Love can be traced back for about two centuries in the art and pageantry of Italy, France, and Germany,² and about the middle of the sixteenth century it is recorded as a feature of popular May games in Europe.³ Indeed, the chief features of most of the pageants at the court of Henry VIII are to be found much earlier in general European pageantry, as the mount in the *Orfeo* of Poliziano. In my view, drama probably arose out of such conventions in England earlier than the records show. The chroniclers, while they neglected drama, loved to dwell upon the spectacular in the masques of Henry VIII; but we may be reasonably sure that, besides the few actual interludes from love allegory recorded, these pageants were accompanied at times by a somewhat formal type of story in action and dialogue.

I have dealt with the siege last among the conventions of love allegory in dramatic disguisings, not alone as being climactic, but also as furnishing a motive in which love allegory has utilized the theme of history and romantic story and consequently is close to other forms of romance in drama. In common with pageants at Henry's court dealing with romantic adventure, a great deal of the oldest secular drama has as its central feature the castle, the siege, and the combat. The climax of the Robin Hood plays was the combat or cudgelling match. The mummers' plays show the prominence of the contest in the old folk-ritual and in the St. George plays. The oldest chronicle plays make the battle their climax. In *Eglemour and Degrebelle* knightly combat must have appeared as it does in *Pericles*. The early English moralities *The Castle of Perseverance* and *Mary Magdalene* make use of the siege. Particularly was the siege the common conventional feature of European drama, and many pageants and plays dealing with the theme are recorded for the Continent through a long period. An excellent early example is furnished by an account of a pageant in Belgium

¹ Other sieges of the type were represented in *Le Fortresse dangerus*, 1512 (Hall, fol. xv-xvi); in an undated disguising described in Harl. MS 69 (Brotanek, *op. cit.*, p. 27); etc.

² Cf. Brotanek, *op. cit.*, pp. 26 ff., 325 f.

³ Neilson, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

in 1378. After a banquet given by King Charles V to the Emperor Charles IV, a vessel entered the hall fully rigged. On the deck were Godefroi de Bouillon and armed knights. Then Jerusalem appeared, its towers covered with Saracens. The Christians, descending from the ship, attacked the city, and after a vigorous battle scaled the walls and planted the cross on them.¹ From the middle of the fifteenth century we have left in France *La Destruction de Troye* by Milet and *Le Siège d'Orléans*, two very elaborate dramas of the type. In England the convention was continued in *The Destruction of Thebes*, prepared at Oxford in 1569,² and *The Destruction of Jerusalem*, popular at Coventry in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. At the opening of the seventeenth century the motive had apparently fallen to the low estate of being represented in London in the *Nineveh* and *Jerusalem* of the puppet players.³

Outside of the court of love disguisings and interludes, one of the fullest accounts of a romantic entertainment at the court of Henry VIII is that of Cornish's interlude *Troylous and Pandor* on Twelfth Night, 1516.⁴ A castle of timber was prepared in the King's hall for the occasion. Cornish and the Children of the Chapel performed "the story of Troylous and Pandor rychly inparyllled, allso Kallkas and Kryssyd inparyllled lyke a wedow of onour, in blake sarsenet and other abelements for seche mater; Dyomed and the Greks inparylld lyke men of warre, akordyng to the intent or porpoos. After weche komedy playd and doon, an harroud tryd and mad an oy that 3 strange knyghts wer cum to do batall with [those] of the sayd kastell." Following the combat, out of the castle came a Queen and "her 6 ladyes, with spechys after the devyes of Mr. Kornyche." The castle was in all probability used for the interlude as for the other parts of the entertainment. On Twelfth Night of the preceding year *The Pavyllyon un the Plas Parlos* had been presented,

¹ F. Faber, *Histoire du théâtre français en Belgique*, I, 6. One feature of the eight days' entertainment already mentioned for Margaret of England at Bruges in 1460 was a pageant representing two giants as conducting an enormous whale into the hall, from whose mouth issued first sirens, who chanted, and next twelve knights of the sea, who danced and engaged in combat until the giants forced them to re-enter. Such elaboration of romantic figures in pageants may have been known to Margaret in England also.

² Boas, *University Drama*, p. 158.

³ Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, V, 1.

⁴ *L. and P. Henry VIII*, II, 1505 f.; Hall, fol. lvii.

Cornish with other men and with children of the Chapel declaring "the intent of the pageant by process of speech,"¹ though the romantic action itself may have been dumb show.² The pageant represented a field containing a pavilion, at the corners of which were towers, with a knight in each. There were minstrels on the pageant, and at the foot two armed knights "maintaining the place." Another group of knights entered and engaged them in battle. Then wild men in green moss, rushing in, captured four of the knights and their ladies, while still other knights came to the rescue of the captives. A similar type of introduction to a romantic disguising with combat motive was presented at Greenwich on October 7, 1518, when Cornish on horseback and two children explained the meaning of the pageant.³ Jousts, a banquet, and a comedy preceded the disguising. According to the fullest account, sundry Turks came forth with drums, and a person on a winged horse made a long speech to the effect that he was Pegasus,⁴ who, having heard of the peace with France and the proposed marriage of the Lady Mary, came to announce the good news to the world. He himself could not sing, but the two children would. Then two children about twelve years old sang of "this matter." The pageant which followed was again romantic in nature though it symbolized the political situation. The setting was a castle and a rock with a gilded cave. Pegasus continued to explain the meaning

¹ *L. and P. Henry VIII*, II, 1501 f.; Hall, fol. lv.

² I see no reason to doubt, however, that these dramatic inductions, of which there are several instances, were followed by speech along with the romantic action. Cornish's induction here and the one introducing the Pegasus play discussed below seem to have been of the same type as the inductions that continued only a short time into the Elizabethan period after romantic plays began to be printed in any numbers. In a setting of a debate of the gods, perhaps similar to old court of love pageants, the main story of *The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune* is worked out. The debate or contest motive also furnishes an induction for *Mucedorus*, *Wily Beguiled*, etc. Tarlton's *Seven Deadly Sins* has its several romantic stories for the different sins developed in a setting whose characters are Henry VI and an attendant group. Some of these settings, which may carry on the whole picture of old entertainments and satirize folk adaptation of courtly custom, in festival and banquet, show audiences of common folk, as in *The Old Wives Tale*. The juggler in *Wily Beguiled* suggests the Merry Andrew or Jack Pudding who survived with his comic spiel before the booths of Bartholomew Fair within which plays were to be performed. Continental plays show inductions that help to emphasize the unity of English and continental drama.

³ *Cal. State Papers: Venetian, 1509-1519*, pp. 464-67; *L. and P. Henry VIII*, II, 1479; Hall, fol. lxvi f. The accounts differ. Cornish on horseback with two children also explained the *Garden de Esperans*, presented on Twelfth Night, 1517; cf. *L. and P. Henry VIII*, II, 1509 f.

⁴ Hall calls this figure Reaport. Cf. Brotanek, *op. cit.*, p. 20, n. 2, for the conventionality of the figure, which still lived on in Shakspeare's *II Henry IV*.

of the entertainment. Then a Turk replied, refusing to join in the general rejoicing. Fifteen of his followers were summoned, and a conflict between the Turks and the knights followed. The disguising planned for May, 1515, but abandoned for a Maying with the Lady of May and Robin Hood groups, was probably to have been romantic, for it was to include a pageant called "Pallys Marchallyn" with ten towers and inside "a King, a Duke, a Marquis, and an Earl, with their servants," armed and on coursers.¹

Though such conventions of heroic romances appear in some of the disguisings, names from romances do not occur frequently in the records.² The humanistic attitude of the King and his chief courtiers may account for this fact.³ There was, however, among the biblical, allegorical, and historical pageants presented before Henry VIII and the Emperor in 1522, one produced by the citizens of London, *The Round Table*, which had an important place in the records of English romance and pageantry before and after the time of Henry VIII.⁴ It displayed two towers, filled with musicians. Between "sat kyng Arthur at a rounde table & was serued with .x. kynges, Dukes and erles."⁵ Arthur and the Round Table had apparently appeared among the courtly in Scotland in a form of disguising for feast and tourney in the time of Robert Bruce, and in England in 1344 and later, besides having influenced foreign pageantry.⁶ The continued popularity of the theme in Scotland is

¹ *L. and P. Henry VIII*, II, 1503.

² Garments were provided for "Robard the Devil" in the jousts at Guisnes (*L. and P. Henry VIII*, III, 1555).

³ Perhaps a curious suggestion of the court attitude is found in the fact that in a list of hangings belonging to Princess Mary, the only one portraying a popular romance theme—Amys and Amylyon—is recorded as "cut in two for tappyns" (*L. and P. Henry VIII* III, 1409).

⁴ Two suggestions may be made here. First, old motives that were popular among the courtly earlier are often found in these records as living among the people after their vogue has passed among the cultured. Secondly, the pageants and processions of the people suggest plays on the same themes at banquets and festivals. The garments and equipments for pageants could readily be used for plays, and in many cases it is demonstrable that they were so used. Such figures as Ceres, Bacchus, Vulcan, and Jason associated with gilds occur in both processions and plays. The May Day processions of Robin Hood were often followed by the Robin Hood plays, and the same relation is more than probable for the St. George processions and plays. The relation of biblical figures in the processions to those in the plays at Whitsun and Corpus Christi is clear.

⁵ Hall, fol. lxxxvii.

⁶ Brotanek, *Die engl. Maskenspiele*, p. 5 and notes; Ellison, *op. cit.*, chap. i.

attested at the marriage of James IV and Margaret in 1503, when according to Drummond¹ "Old King *Arthur* with his Knights of the Round-Table were here brought upon the Lists." The King was disguised as the "Savage Knight." As late as 1583 Robinson in *The Auncient Order, Societie, and Unitie Laudable, of Prince Arthure and his Knightly Armory of the Round Table* tells of the game of the Round Table in archery contests.² Plays dealing with the knights of the Round Table are mentioned by Gosson about 1582.

Outside of the court disguisings there is evidence of a fairly fully developed taste for romantic plays during the reign of Henry VIII. The romantic drama acceptable to the humanists is represented not only in Cornish's *Troylous and Pandor* but in *Calisto and Melebea* and the fragment of *Lucrece*. The same type of romance is recorded in the academic drama. Bale tells us of Radcliffe's plays on Griseldis, Melibaeus, and Titus and Gisippus at Hitchens, and of Grimald's *Troilus* in English at Oxford. Evidence for the chief towns may be summarized briefly. In the field of the miracle play, the drama of the older period continues. Thus the records of plays on St. Lawrence, St. Susanna, King Robert of Sicily, and St. Clara at Lincoln between 1441 and 1456 are paralleled by those of plays on St. Swythyn, St. Andrew, and St. Eustace, or Placidus, at Braintree between 1523 and 1534.³ Such entries seem to me extremely significant as probably typical of many towns where from time to time saints plays or Miracles of the Virgin were given. The great feasts of the gilds also furnished occasion for plays, as we know from various records. The names of the plays are rarely given, however. A vogue of secular drama on festive occasions is suggested by two records fairly early in the sixteenth century. For the cappers' Candlemas dinner at Coventry in 1525 Robert Crowe and two others were paid for *The Golden Fleece*.⁴ In 1528, *Crispin and Crispin-*

¹ *History of Scotland*, p. 133.

² Brydges, *Brit. Bibliographer*, I, 125 ff. Robinson gives many details of the history of the Round Table as a disguising in England. Cf. *II Henry IV*, III, 2, 299. Arthurian legend was drawn on for the entertainments at Kenilworth in 1576.

³ Chambers, *Med. Stage*, II, 342, 378. A *King Robert of Sicily* was apparently an old play at Chester in 1529 (*ibid.*, p. 356); cf. also p. 380 for a play of Seynt Katherine in 1393 at London; p. 362 for a play of St. Katherine in 1490/1 and of St. Crytyan in 1504/5 at Coventry; p. 394 for a play on the martyrdoms of Saints Felician and Sabina in 1516 at Shrewsbury.

⁴ Sharp, *Mysteries at Coventry*, p. 217.

ianus—probably a romantic miracle—*Bacchus and his story*, *Vulcan and what related to him*, and *The comedy of Ceres, goddess of corn*, in addition to religious plays, were presented in Dublin at Christmas.¹ The treatment in these plays, in spite of their classical themes, was probably as free and romantic as that of Venus and Diana in court of love romance, of Venus in *The tryumpe of Love and Bewte*, 1514, or of classical figures in plays about the middle of the sixteenth century, particularly in Lyly. The subjects of these plays were of course chosen as appropriate to individual gilds. The theme of the Golden Fleece, at least, was widespread in European pageants and plays.² In 1522 Londoners presented before Henry VIII, Jason with the Golden Fleece, between a fiery dragon and two bulls that cast out fire, and Medea in a tower.³ Another pageant on the subject was a feature at the coronation of Edward VI.

Secular and romantic drama, however, may have been still more widespread at fairs, marriages, village wakes,⁴ etc., of which our records are perhaps scantiest, than at the celebrations of the greater gilds and corporations. During the Middle Ages, practically every church had its annual festival on the anniversary of the saint to whom the church was dedicated. In connection with this festival, which lasted two or three days, markets were held, and at night the vigil, or wake, of the saint was observed.⁵ These wakes thus became local fairs and holidays for the folk like the midsummer watches, for which they were often substituted. In the majority of the parishes, at least once a year, whether May Day and other seasonal

¹ Chambers, II, 365.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 163–65, 171, 362, 383. Cf. Creizenach, I, 377, for a pageant of Jason and Medea on the Continent as early as 1389; I, 430, for Jason and the Golden Fleece in a Lübeck farce; and *Revue d'Hist. litt. de la France*, X (1903), 200, for a play near Lille in 1563 called *Veau d'or*.

³ Hall, fol. lxxxxvi f.

⁴ In the great midsummer shows of the towns, crowds were too large for the use of drama by way of general celebration. Many towns solved this problem by pageant plays performed simultaneously at different stands, and by great processions. Stow, in his *Survey of London*, describing the practices that prevailed in that city "time out of mind, until the year 1539," at midsummer watches on the Eves of St. John and St. Peter, tells how, besides the "standing watches all in bright harness, in every ward and street of this city and suburbs" bearing their cresset lights, there was a marching watch, some two thousand strong, in striking regalia, accompanied by pageants, morris dancers, and elaborate processions of the mayor's officers, the sheriffs, etc. (Everyman's Library edition, pp. 93–95).

⁵ One of the best of the numerous accounts of wakes is that in Burne-Jackson's *Shropshire Folk-Lore*, pp. 439 ff.

festivals were celebrated or not, several days and nights were given over to merry-making in connection with the wakes. Various types of entertainment prevailed. Perhaps such diversions as dances, games, juggling, and bear-baiting contented most of the groups of celebrants. Like amusements have prevailed at festivals of the people from the time of Plautus' reference to the vigils of Ceres till the present day. The evidence for varied types of drama among the people is clear enough, however, as at the seasonal festivals. Ballad dialogues, wooing dramas such as "The Nut Brown Maid," May games, and Robin Hood plays, all of which can be traced in the fifteenth century, have been discussed.

But night celebrations after the fashion of the parish wake were extended to various festivals, and scattered accounts belonging to the first half of the sixteenth century show that formal drama was often a part of these celebrations. The drama mentioned by Stow as customary for small units of population in connection with the London celebration of May, suggests an adaptation to May Day of the usual parish wake. "I find also," says Stow, "that in the month of May, the citizens of London of all estates, lightly in every parish, or sometimes two or three parishes joining together, had their several mayings, and did fetch in May-poles, with divers warlike shows, with good archers, morris dancers, and other devices, for pastime all the day long; and toward the evening they had stage plays, and bonfires in the streets."¹ Stow seems to imply a general representation of plays on May Day. Chapuys,² in a letter of June 30, 1535, speaks of

a gallant and notable interpretation of a chapter of the Apocalypse³ which was played on the eve of St. John. To see it, the King went thirty miles from here, walked 10 miles at 2 o'clock at night with a two-handed sword, and got into a house where he could see everything. He was so pleased at seeing him[s]elf cutting off the heads of the clergy, that in order to laugh at his ease, and encourage the people, he discovered himself. He sent to tell his lady that she ought to see the representation of it repeated on the eve of St. Peter.

¹ P. 90. All the evidence I can find indicates that at this period the term "stage plays" was used for rather elaborate dramatic performances, and was contrasted with "interludes." Cf. the Walton-Rastell Papers, *Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse*, pp. 314, 316, 317, in Arber's Garner.

² *L. and P. Henry VIII*, VIII, 373; pointed out by Miss Dodds in *Library*, 1913, p. 402.

³ For "L'Apocalypse" in France, cf. Petit de Julleville, *Les Mystères*, II, 8, 162, 615.

In spite of the fact that the play here is clearly not secular, the passage seems worth quoting for the light it throws on the manner of these wake performances. For Wymondham, Norfolk, records of "the wache and play" show its existence from some time previous to 1538. A sixteenth-century writer, Neville, refers to the Wymondham sports as "ludi ac spectacula . . . antiquitus ita instituta." Neville and Holinshed inform us that the festival continued by night as well as by day—for two days and nights according to Neville. The subject of the play is not known, but, though it may have been a miracle, its popular and romantic character is revealed by entries of payments for "devyls shoes," "the giant," a man "in armour," and the "revels and dances."¹ After the mid-century we have an account of the marriage play of *Jube the Sane*, performed February 7, about 1551, "after Soper" "with torch lyghts and cresset lyghts";² and Machyn's account of a regular parish wake held in London, July 29, 1557: "St. Olave's day, was the church holyday in Silverstreet, the parish church whereof was dedicated to that saint. And at eight of the clock at night began a stageplay of a goodly matter, that continued unto twelve at midnight; and then they made an end with a good song."³ These examples show, I think, the prevalence of formal drama in the celebration of the vigils of the people. The bulk of this drama we may assume to have been religious, but the details given in connection with the Wymondham play seem to testify that the romantic element was not excluded.⁴

III

In the account that has just been given of the drama of Henry VIII's reign, I have surveyed briefly the evidence for tradition in the themes and conventions of romantic drama which meet us at the beginning of the Renaissance, and I have tried to show that the

¹ Chambers, II, 398.

² Collier, *Hist. Dram. Poetry*, I, 143, n. 3.

³ Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, III, II, 11.

⁴ The Reformation brought an attack on wakes which was effective enough to start at any rate the decay of parish drama. Tyndale (*Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*, 1536, Parker Soc., p. 126) boasted, "We have put down watching all night in the church on saints' eves, for the abuse." Bonner issued an order in 1542 forbidding "all maner of common plays, games, or interludes to be played, set forth, or declared, within their churches, chapels," etc. (Warton, *Hist. Eng. Poetry* [1824], II, 74). But the orders of bishops all over England, which continued throughout the century to urge the clergy to check wakes and church performances, show how persistent the old customs were.

dramatic records left, meager as they are, are concerned with various social groups, cover a variety of romantic themes, and hence may be indicative of extensive and varied romantic drama in the large body of lost plays. From the middle of the sixteenth century onward, the evidence for the use of older material in popular drama is still more convincing. Some of this evidence has been included in the survey of types of drama that seem to belong to the folk. Here I shall summarize very briefly only some of the indications that more formal types of romantic drama in the Elizabethan period carried on old traditions.

The Robin Hood plays popular on the London stage at the end of the sixteenth century furnish one clear instance of the development on the professional stage of themes from old folk-plays. The continuance of conventions from the disguisings and court pageantry of the early sixteenth century is evident enough also. Thus the record of the *Orpheus* presented February 22, 1547, reads: "Then, after the bankett was done, there was a goodly enterlude played in the said hall, where was also made a mounte with the story of Orpheus right conyngly composed."¹ Here we have testimony, not only to the persistence of the old arrangement of banquet, play, and disguising, but also to the continued popularity of the mount as a setting.² The afterpiece *Youth and Riches* for Twelfth Night, 1552, had apparently the same type of debate and certainly the same decision by the combat of knights as the *Love and Riches* of 1527.³ The motive of the armed combat occurs in what I take to be a mock tourney in the first recorded play of the period drawn from metrical romance, the *Paris and Vienna* of 1572.⁴

¹ Nichols, *Literary Remains of King Edward the Sixth*, I, ccclii; Wallace, *Evolution of the Drama*, p. 70, n. 4; Feuillerat, *Doc. Revels Edward VI and Mary*, pp. 3, 6, 8, 255.

² Poliziano, it will be remembered, had used the mount as a setting for his *Orfeo* of 1472.

In *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, V, 1, when the theme,

The riot of the tipsy Bacchanals,
Tearing the Thracian singer in their rage,

is proposed for the interlude, Theseus objects,

That is an old device; and it was play'd
When I from Thebes came last a conqueror.

Cf. the *Orpheus* of Warburton's list; and Fleay, *Drama*, II, 336, for a fragment in the British Museum.

³ Feuillerat, *Doc. Revels Edward VI and Mary*, pp. 60, 278.

⁴ Cf. Feuillerat, *Doc. Revels Queen Elizabeth*, p. 141, for a payment for the hobby-horses "that served the children of Westminster in the triumphe (where parris wan the Christall sheelde for vienna. at the Turneye and Barryers)."

There are also many indications that both the court of love type of disguising and the gild plays on classical themes may have furnished conventional motives and scenes in the mythological plays of Queen Elizabeth's reign. One set of conventions has already been traced as culminating in *Summer's Last Will and Testament*, with its numerous mythological characters. Another mythological play that represents the culmination of a long line of tradition is Peele's *Arraignment of Paris*. The judgment of Paris is frequently set forth in love allegory, as in Froissart's *L'Espinette amoureuse*, Machaut's *Le Dit de la fontaine amoureuse*, and Lydgate's *Reson and Sensuallyte*.¹ Plays on the theme are recorded on the Continent early: at Lübeck in 1455 a farce dealing with the subject; at Nantes in 1498 the "mystère du jugement de Pâris" already mentioned; at Ingoldstadt in 1502 Locher's *Spectaculum de judicio Paridis*; in 1532 Hans Sachs's *Spiel das man lateinisch hiess Das judicium Paridis*, supposedly based on an older lost humanist drama.² In Great Britain the theme was used in a pageant before Queen Margaret at Edinburgh in 1503,³ in Udall's pageant at the coronation of Anne Boleyn in 1533, and in a marriage masque of 1566,⁴ before it was mingled with wooing songs, pastoral scenes, etc., to form Peele's play.⁵

While I have no evidence for such a continuous tradition in the treatment of any other mythological theme, an argument for old traditions can be made in the case of practically every mythological play before 1600. Moreover, the particular combination of material in these plays suggests dramatic tradition. Like love allegory of the Middle Ages, they show divergences from classical story toward the conventions of mediaeval pageantry and festival play; but the

¹ Neilson, *Origins and Sources of the Court of Love*, pp. 63, 82; Marsh, "The Flower and the Leaf," *Mod. Phil.*, IV, 295, 310. In *The Complaynt of Scotland* "the tayl of the goldin appil" is mentioned as one of the themes popular with the shepherds.

² For these plays cf. Creizenach, I, 430; II, 40; and III, 417. For a later Italian play, Scotto's *Il giudizio di Paride*, 1566, cf. Lancaster, *The French Tragi-Comedy*, p. 160.

³ Graves, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXVIII, 48-49.

⁴ Brydges, *Brit. Bibl.*, II, 612 ff.

⁵ Many allusions to the judgment of Paris occur in English literature, as in *Calisto and Melebea*, ll. 248 f.; *Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions* (Park's *Heliconia*, I, 104); *Handful of Pleasant Delights* (ed. Arber, p. 33); and a poem celebrating the entry of Queen Anne into Edinburgh, 1590 (Watson, *Choice Collection of Scots Poems*, II, 8, 9). See Graves, *op. cit.*, for a portrait of Queen Elizabeth being awarded the apple.

presence of clowns, pages, fairies, and shepherds is suggestive of the melting pot of earlier romantic drama rather than of the somewhat more harmonious court of love poems. Some such mingling of elements must have appeared in the pastoral presented before Elizabeth by Italian actors in 1574, features of which were a scythe for Saturn, shepherds, a wild man, arrows for nymphs, and garlands,¹ the last possibly for festival dances and games. Particularly in the plays of Lyly are silvan and pastoral scenes mingled with mythological scenes. The contest motive joined with a love theme, as seen in many an old disguising and court of love poem, appears in *Endimion*, *Gallathea*, and *The Woman in the Moon*. In the contest of Cynthia and Tellus in *Endimion*, the symbolism of love allegory is more strongly suggested, for the moral idea of Lydgate's *Reson and Sensuallyte* or of Medwell's *Nature* is here;² but in such features as the fountain, the fairies, and the enchantress romantic elements of love allegory are illustrated. *The Woman in the Moon*, with its gods as planets, its symbols of nature, like Discord, and its shepherds, is related, not only to the allegory of nature in Medwell's *Nature* and Rastell's *Four Elements*, but also to one form of the season drama already discussed.³ In *Love's Metamorphosis* the theme is the honor due to Ceres⁴ in season festival, song, and dance. Ceres appears also in Wilson's *Coblers Prophecie*, which is even more suggestive of old tradition than Lyly's plays. In Wilson's play Venus is presented with a typical court of love, waited on by abstract attendants.⁵ The contest of the gods is a controlling motive of the play. The prophet met here and in *The Peddlers Prophecie* seems to be a mediaeval survival, which may have been inspired by the *Prophetæ* of the mysteries. As early as 1493 there is record of some sort of dramatic device called "a prophecy in rew," prepared by Cornish.⁶ The

¹ Feullerat, *Doc. Revels Queen Elizabeth*, pp. 227, 228, 458.

² In *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXVII, 147-52, I have suggested some of the many points of resemblance between *Endimion* and the old court of love allegory. A similar list could be made for some of the other plays, I think.

³ Cf. Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 417, n. 5 and Creizenach, I, 377, for some fifteenth-century dramatic pieces in which the planets appeared.

⁴ A Dublin gild play on the subject of Ceres has already been noticed.

⁵ Mars also is introduced here with Venus. Cf. Creizenach, III, 476 f., for two Dutch plays about the middle of the century on Mars and Venus.

⁶ Wallace, *Evolution of the English Drama*, p. 33.

inventory of playing garments taken at the opening of Edward VI's reign includes a gown "for a Boye to play the profett."¹

Enough has been said of court and London drama. To my mind, however, the mere presence of romantic drama in the folk repertoire during the Elizabethan period calls for considerable emphasis as showing a long-continued tradition, for the literature of the folk is persistent in its repertoire and only slowly influenced by literary forms. Both simple romantic stories and mythological stories from the classics seem to have been popular in dramatic form among the folk of Elizabethan England. In *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, IV, 4, Julia in her rôle of page tells Sylvia,

At Pentecost

When all our pageants of delight were play'd,
Our youth got me to play the woman's part,

.
. I did play a lamentable part.

Madam, 'twas Ariadne passioning

For Theseus' perjury and unjust flight;

Which I so lively acted with my tears

Shakspeare uses a part of the story for *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, his own play idealizing the midsummer silvan sports.² In the play itself he satirizes the folk presentation of Pyramus and Thisbe, a story with a long record of popularity in mediaeval poetry and drama.³ To the same type of satire on folk treatment of classic themes belongs

¹ Feuillerat, *Doc. Revels Edward VI and Mary*, pp. 14, 260. Cf. pp. 20, 194, 262, 299, for a "king or prophet." In other Elizabethan plays prophets appear, as in *The Troublesome Raigne* and in *King John*, and prophecies are frequent especially in the chronicle plays.

² The shepherds of *The Complaynt of Scotland* are represented as telling "The taylor quhou that dedalus maid the laborynth to kelp the monster minotaurus."

³ Cf. G. Hart, *Ursprung und Verbreitung der Pyramus- und Thisbe-Sage*, 1889, and *Die Pyramus- und Thisbe-Sage in Holland, England, Italien und Spanien*, 1891; E. Faral, *Recherches sur les sources latines des contes et romans courtois du moyen âge*, 1913; Creizenach, II, 235, n. 2, and III, 42, 473 f.; A. Schaer, *Die dramatischen Bearbeitungen der Pyramus- Thisbe-Sage in Deutschland im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, 1909, and *Drei deutsche Pyramus- Thisbe-Spiele*, Litt. Ver. in Stuttgart, 1911; E. Picot, edition of *Moralité nouvelle de Pyramus et Tisbé*, Bull. du Biblioph., 1901. An English interlude on the subject, from a manuscript of the seventeenth century, is printed by Miss Hammond in *The Drama*, 1915, pp. 288 ff. In court of love poetry the story of Pyramus and Thisbe plays a part in Thibaut's *Roman de la Poire*, Chartier's *L'Hospital d'Amours*, *The Assembly of Ladies*, etc. Cf. Neilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 56, 87-88, 151. In *The Complaynt of Scotland* the shepherds' tales include "Pirramus and tesbe." "A boke intituled *Perymus and Thesbye*" was entered on the Stationers' Register in 1562-63. Poems on the theme, clearly of a popular type, appear in *Gorgeous Gallery* and *Handful of Pleasant Delights*. Cf. also *Roxburghe Ballads* (Ballad Society), I, 175 ff.; IX, cxlii* ff.

Jonson's burlesque puppet play of Hero and Leander in *Bartholomew Fair*.¹ The mythological play with pastoral and hunting scenes also belonged to the popular repertoire. The Narcissus story, frequently referred to in love allegory, and used in 1572 for a play which included a hunting scene in a forest,² is elaborately satirized as a theme of the folk in the Oxford play *Narcissus* of 1602. Many of the motives of the story occur in *Cynthia's Revels*, where Jonson satirizes the use of Echo, Cupid, and Mercury in popular plays.³ Popular mythological pastorals, probably from the sixteenth century, survive in Cox's drolls, *Rurall sports on the Birth-day of the Nymph Oenone*, *Acteon and Diana*, and *Venus and Adonis*. Country folk celebrating festivals appear in the first two, and shepherds or huntsmen in plain or wood in all three of these drolls. *Oenone* offers a morris dance, a satyr dance, songs, and country wooing scenes with the usual clown. Features of *Acteon and Diana* are a clownish wooer, country wenches, huntsmen, and May Day songs and dances. Cox, indeed, seems merely to have revived old plays and farces for the populace. His *John Swabber* is called by Kirkman "an ancient Farce," while his *Singing Simpkin* existed before 1620 apparently in exactly Cox's form except for some lines at the end.⁴ Cox's three classical stories in mediaeval pastoral form may owe something to older pageantry and drama, but not many earlier treatments of these particular themes are recorded. *Oenone's* story appears in *The Arraignment of Paris*. The *Acteon and Diana* theme⁵ as a masque

¹ The story of Hero and Leander also is given in the list of shepherds' tales in *The Complaynt of Scotland*. It furnished a pageant in *The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune*. Cf. Creizenach, III, 476, for a Dutch play on Hero and Leander before 1583.

² Feuillerat, *Doc. Revels Queen Elizabeth*, pp. 141, 142, 451. Cf. Creizenach, III, 476, for Keyaert's *Narcissus and Echo* of 1552 and Houwaert's reworking of a play on the theme. Hunting scenes occurred in Edwards' *Palemon and Arcite* and Phillip's *Patient Grisell*. There was one also in the French *Griseldis* of the late fourteenth century.

³ Induction and I, 1. Cf. Baskervill, *English Elements in Jonson's Early Comedy*, for detailed treatment of the court of love conventions in this and other mythological plays. I should now lay more stress on the probable dramatic provenience of this material.

⁴ Bolte, *Die Singspiele der engl. Komödianten*, p. 18.

⁵ Again one of the shepherds' stories in *The Complaynt of Scotland* is "The tayl quhou acteon vas transformit in ane hart, and syne slane be his auen doggis." Douglas' *Palice of Honour*, 1501, has the story, and one of the popular poems in *A Handful of Pleasant Delights* deals with it. On the Continent, Taccone's short pageant dealing with this theme, the *Atteone* of 1480-90, is one of the earliest dramatic pieces of the mythological pastoral type preserved in Italy; cf. Carrara, *La poesia pastorale (Storia dei generi letterari italiani)*, p. 209. Celtis' *Diana* of 1501 is a mythological play full of festival motives, which may illustrate the place of *Diana*—*Acteon* does not appear—in early mythological plays; cf. Creizenach, II, 37, 38.

or shew is satirized in *Every Woman in her Humour* (1609), V, 1, and Acteon with his huntsmen appeared in a civic pageant at Wells in 1613.¹ There are records of much earlier plays on the Continent dealing with Venus and Adonis.²

From the early part of Elizabeth's reign, moreover, there is some evidence that other forms of romance than classical stories molded by love allegory or by gild festival and courtly pageantry had gained a hold in popular drama without leaving records of the steps in the development. Foreign influence may have led to the early use of certain themes. That foreign plays of all types had an influence on English drama throughout the sixteenth century is not, I think, an unreasonable assumption. Latin plays of the Continent are known to have affected powerfully university drama and the Protestant morality in England, and French farce clearly influenced the interludes of Heywood. In other fields there is not enough early drama extant to furnish a basis for study. General resemblances, however, in the conventions of symbolic and mythological pageants and plays have been noted above as indicating the unified growth of English and continental drama in one of the romantic fields from as early as the fifteenth century. The same unity for the drama drawn from mediaeval heroic romance is suggested—even with allowance made for the independent dramatization of a popular story in different places—by the frequent duplication of titles or themes in the very scanty list of plays extant or recorded in England and continental Europe before the latter part of the sixteenth century. Some of the duplications that suggest early dramatizations and interrelations with only chance records at scattered places and times may be noted for their cumulative value. Thus only a strong influence of early dramatic treatments of the Griseldis theme seems to me sufficient to account for the numerous European plays on the subject during two centuries: the French play of 1393, the Metz play of 1488,³ one in the Netherlands in 1498,⁴ the Italian dramatization

¹ *Hist. MSS Com.*, I, 107.

² Cf. Creizenach, II, 511, note, and 520, for a pastoral play of Venus and Adonis at Ragusa in 1548; and Lanson, *Rev. d'Hist. litt. de la France*, X (1903), 203 and 207, for Gabriel Le Breton's *Adonis* at the Collège de Boncour, 1574-78, and a *Vénus et Adonis* at Saint-Maixent in 1581.

³ Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire*, p. 347. Cf. *Les Mystères*, II, 60, for a performance in 1491.

⁴ Creizenach, I, 373.

of the subject in the fifteenth century,¹ Eligius Eucharius' play at Ghent in 1512,² Hans Sachs's comedy,³ the French play of 1550,⁴ the Dutch play of 1556,⁵ and in England the plays of Radcliffe,⁶ Phillip, and Dekker, and the puppet play of the seventeenth century.⁷ The fourteenth-century French Miracle de Notre Dame, *La Femme du roi de Portugal*,⁸ is repeated in Louvet's first miracle, 1536, and Petit de Julleville says that the last "est traité tout à fait de la même façon, sauf l'addition du personnage de Sathan."⁹ The same story occurs in Middleton's *The Changeling* with a somewhat similar treatment. Middleton's play is usually traced to Reynolds' *God's Revenge against Murther*, where a novella form is found with the same names for the main characters as in *The Changeling*. But it seems highly improbable that Middleton would have kept the same names if he had used a contemporary narrative source. Such a proceeding was most unusual in the drama of the period. Further, distinctive details in which *The Changeling* agrees with the old French plays are lacking in Reynolds' version. Hence I believe that Middleton borrowed from some old drama, probably in English. Again, the fourteenth-century miracle *Ostes, Roi d'Espagne*,¹⁰ Lope de Rueda's *Eufemia*¹¹ of the first half of the sixteenth century, Hans Sachs's *Ginevra*,¹² 1548, the Breslau play *Kauffmann von Padua*,¹³ 1596, Ayrrer's *Comedia von zweyen fürstlichen Rätthen*,¹⁴ ca. 1600, and Shakspeare's *Cymbeline* treat the famous wager story of Boccaccio. There is a strong probability that Shakspeare used an older drama on the theme,¹⁵ which in turn may have been a survival of mediaeval dramatic

¹ Creizenach, I, 330, 336, 378.

² *Ibid.*, II, 57.

³ *Ibid.*, III, 419, note.

⁴ Lanson, *Rev. d'Hist. litt. de la France*, X (1903), 180.

⁵ Creizenach, III, 473.

⁶ Collier, *Hist. Dram. Poetry*, I, 114.

⁷ D'Urfey, *Pills to Purge Melancholy*, IV, 169; Pepys' *Diary*, August 30, 1667.

⁸ Cangé MS, IV.

⁹ *Les Mystères*, II, 609.

¹⁰ Cangé MS, XXVIII; Petit de Julleville, *Les Mystères*, II, 297-300.

¹¹ Creizenach, III, 169 f.

¹² *Ibid.*, III, 424.

¹³ Cohn, *Shakespeare in Germany*, p. lvii.

¹⁴ *Romania*, XXXII, 486.

¹⁵ Cf. R. Ohle, *Shakespeares Cymbeline und seine romanischen Vorläufer*.

tradition. What relations existed between the plays on Titus and Gisippus by Hans Sachs in 1546, by Schwartzzenbach in 1551, by Montanus a little later,¹ by Radcliffe in England in the first half of the sixteenth century,² and by an unknown dramatist whose play was presented before Elizabeth in 1577,³ cannot be said, but dramatizations of this story and of the similar stories of Ami and Amile in the fourteenth-century French miracles⁴ and of Alexander and Lodovick for Henslowe⁵ may be due to a vogue of a conventional theme through a long period. The story of Romeo and Juliet was dramatized in England before 1562,⁶ and by Shakspeare later; in France by Châteauvieux between 1560 and 1585;⁷ in Italy by Groto in 1578;⁸ and in Spain by Lope de Vega. That an old play influenced Shakspeare's treatment is probable enough,⁹ but there may have been dramatizations of the story older than any of those recorded and interrelations of the plays on the subject which cannot be surmised. Less valuable would be any attempt to draw conclusions from the dozen or more cases in which a theme is represented by records of only two or three plays, in most instances no longer extant. The point is that, when the great outburst of romantic drama came and records grew numerous, dramatists were taking their suggestions of themes and treatment from old plays. Shakspeare was largely a reviser of old plays throughout his career, though the fact is partly obscured by his habit of going to narrative sources for much of his material in the revision, as in his *Henry IV*, *Henry V*, and *King Lear*. The process of revising plays had been carried on for a long time, we may be sure, by the traveling companies and village amateurs, and apparently Heywood and the writers of the romantic drama for Henslowe followed the same method.¹⁰ Lupton, in 1632,

¹ Creizenach, III, 351, 352, 400, 409, 424.

² *Ibid.*, II, 85.

³ Feuillerat, *Doc. Revels Queen Elizabeth*, pp. 270, 461.

⁴ Petit de Julleville, *Les Mystères*, II, 284-87.

⁵ Greg, *Henslowe's Diary*, II, 182.

⁶ Brooke, *Romeus and Juliet*, "To the Reader."

⁷ Lanson, *op. cit.*, pp. 199, 206.

⁸ Creizenach, II, 405 f.

⁹ Fuller, *Mod. Phil.*, IV, 75 ff.

¹⁰ Some instances of customary revision of popular plays are noted below. Henslowe, of course, makes a number of payments for the revision of plays.

when most dramatists were attempting to secure fresh combinations of motives or original plots, testifies to the persistence of the practice of borrowing. Players, he says, "are as crafty with an old play, as bawds with old faces; the one puts on a new fresh colour, the other a new face and name."¹

Gosson and his contemporaries, who give us the first general accounts of the new romantic drama around 1580, furnish also important evidence that plays from mediaeval romances—and hence plays that were most likely to represent old traditions in romantic drama—were numerous. In his *Playes Confuted in five Actions*, about 1582, Gosson testifies² to the widest range of romantic subjects in drama: "I may boldely say it because I haue seene it, that the Palace of pleasure, the Golden Asse, the Æthiopian historie, Amadis of Fraunce, the Rounde table, baudie Comedies in Latine, French, Italian, and Spanish, haue been throughly ransackt to furnish the Playe houses in London." The drama that is here noticed and attacked is, of course, largely the result of a great impetus toward the production of romantic plays in the decade 1570–80. The number of plays recorded for the period indicates this as well as Gosson's statement. On the other hand, before the Puritan attacks there were no such general summaries of the follies of drama as Gosson gives, the earlier reformers attempting to utilize the drama for good while ignoring its popular forms. Gosson includes the Round Table as among the sources ransacked, but no plays from this source are among those considered worthy of record at court at this period. It is impossible to say whether the Arthurian plays which Gosson saw were new, but if the popularity of the Round Table in pagantry, already referred to, is any indication, the theme may have been old in the extensive lost drama of England.

Moreover, at a time when new types of fiction were prevailing very largely and were furnishing dramatic motives, it is hardly to be supposed that any considerable body of new plays would be utilizing the conventions of mediaeval romance. Yet both Gosson and Sidney in their analyses of popular romantic plays stress, not the conventions of Italian novelle and other forms of Renaissance fiction,

¹ *London and the Countrey carbonadoed*; quoted by Wilson, *Life in Shakespeare's England*, p. 163.

² Hazlitt, *The English Drama and Stage*, pp. 188, 189.

but those of metrical romances. Gosson says, "Sometime you shall see nothing but the adventures of an amorous knight, passing from countrie to countrie for the loue of his lady, encoûtring many a terrible monster made of broune paper, & at his retorne, is so wonderfully changed, that he can not be knowne but by some posie in tablet, or by a broken ring, or a handkircher, or a piece of a cockle shell."¹ Gosson seems to have in mind varied endings for plays of one type. The incidents fit the Guy of Warwick type of romance better than any other that I know. The beginning and the end of the Guy of Warwick story—the service of Guy for Felice and the return from his pilgrimage—may have been in Gosson's mind, though the conventions are usual. At any rate, this thoroughly English story, one that we should expect to gain readiest entrance into popular drama, could hardly have failed of dramatization when plays of the type were in vogue.

Sidney about 1580 gives his formula for a popular play as one in which (1) the scene is Asia, Africa, and many other under-kingdoms; (2) ladies gather flowers in a garden; (3) a ship is wrecked on a rock; (4) a hideous monster with fire and smoke appears from a cave; (5) armies give battle; and (6) ordinarily "two young princes fall in love; after many traverses she is got with child, delivered of a fair boy, he is lost, groweth a man, falleth in love," etc.² Though Sidney doubtless draws a composite picture, his strictures furnish a valuable commentary on the long survival of popular romantic conventions, for he describes almost exactly the romance of *Sir Eglamour of Artois* and indicates that plays such as we may assume the *Eglamour and Degrebelle* of 1444 to have been were known in 1580. Whether or not plays from Arthurian romance and from stories with the "exile and return" formula like *Guy of Warwick* represented an old dramatic tradition about 1580, it is reasonable to suppose that the Eustace and the Eglamour type of play had come down to Sidney's day from older drama in the form at least of miracle plays and possibly of secular plays.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

² *Defense of Poesy*, ed. Cook, p. 48. Whetstone in the dedication to *Promos and Cassandra*, 1578, gives a similar formula in a briefer form. In *Hamlet*, II, 2, 332 ff., the conventional figures in a troupe of traveling players are described as king, adventurous knight, lover, humorous man, clown, and lady. Cf. also the prologues of *Every Man in his Humour* and of *The Return from Parnassus* for references to motives of popular romantic plays.

There is also some evidence for the Elizabethan period that among the people, especially at their festivals, a type of romance play prevailed which probably came nearer than the merely popular London play to folk-drama or a drama of pure tradition. First of all, I regard Peele's *Old Wives Tale* as a satire on the festival plays of the folk. The point of the burlesque seems to me lost if the play is taken solely as a satire on the folk-tale. The Induction represents such satire, but the play, which in its more confident tone contrasts with the tale of the Old Wife, presents the same material and appeals to the audience that listened to the Old Wife. Indeed, the Induction gives further support to such an interpretation, for the names of the servingmen are appropriate to satire on folk-drama. Usually the figures of a sixteenth-century induction illustrate the source or field from which the play comes. Anticke, the leader of Peele's group, would be a fitting symbol of the folk dramatic instinct. The word is a commonplace in the sixteenth century as applied to country dancers in disguise, to sword dancers, and to mummers generally. From this use developed the word "antimasque," and a number of antimasques resemble features of *The Old Wives Tale*. Frolicke is an appropriate figure to typify the spirit of folk festivals, and Fantasticke the disordered invention of folk productions generally. A few fairy-tale motives akin to those in *The Old Wives Tale* can be found in Elizabethan drama, and the author of *A Second and Third Blast of Retreat from Plays and Theatres*, 1580, speaks of plays that deal with "wanton wiues fables."¹ But such plays belong to the folk, and though Elizabethan records do not furnish evidence of a drama of this kind among the folk, it is pointed out later that modern folk-lore does.

It is in the play of *Pericles* that we have, I believe, the most important relic of the festival plays of the people. The Prologue opens with the words, put in the mouth of Gower:

To sing a song that old was sung,
 From ashes ancient Gower is come,

 It hath been sung at festivals,
 On ember-eves and holidays.

¹ Hazlitt, *The English Drama and Stage*, p. 143.

These lines apparently belong to the play which Shakspeare revised. Both couplets fail to rhyme. Some change has been made in the first couplet, it appears, without a revision complete enough to furnish rhyme, and the only change in the second couplet was probably the substitution of "holidays" for "holy ales."¹ That the pre-Shakspearean version of *Pericles* was based on an old popular drama seems to me clearly implied in this prologue.² Emphasis has already been placed on Sidney's testimony to the general vogue of such plays as *Pericles* about 1580.

Other scattering references speak for the persistence of plays at folk festivals. Heywood, at the end of his *Apology for Actors*, 1612, says: "To this day"—a clear suggestion of the survival of an old custom—"in divers places of England there be townes that hold the priviledge of their faires, and other charters by yearely stage-plays, as at Manningtree in Suffolke, Kendall in the north, and others."³ Jonson, in a rather confusing prologue to *A Tale of a Tub*, declares:

A Coopers wit, or some such busie Sparke,
 Illumining the high Constable, and his Clarke.
 And all the Neighbour-hood, from old Records,
 Of antick Proverbs, drawne from Whitson-Lord's,
 And their Authorities, at Wakes and Ales,
 With countrey precedents, and old Wives Tales;
 Wee bring you now, to shew what different things
 The Cotes of Clownes, are from the Courts of Kings.

In *Hesperidès*, No. 662, Herrick numbers among the joys of country life the fact that—

For sports, for pageantry and plays
 Thou hast thy eves and holidays.

¹ Malone gives the reading "holy ales."

² The word "sung" might be taken to indicate minstrel production of romance, but as the expression "to sing a song" in the second line applies to the production of the extant drama, "sung at festivals" would also naturally be applied to drama, especially since the reference must belong to the latter half of the sixteenth century when minstrel performances were undoubtedly rare.

³ Nashe and Dekker refer to the survival of moralities at Manningtree; cf. Chambers, *Med. Stage*, II, 384. Such references may indicate the absence of romantic plays in the older dramatic tradition, but I think that around 1600 the survival of moralities would be more curious, more likely to challenge the attention, than the survival of romantic plays.

In No. 761, "The Wake," he is more explicit:

Tarts and custards, creams and cakes,
 Are the junkets still at wakes:

 Morris-dancers thou shalt see,
 Marian, too, in pageantry,
 And a mimic to devise
 Many grinning properties.
 Players there will be, and those
 Base in action as in clothes;
 Yet with strutting they will please
 The incurious villages.

IV

Much testimony can be cited to show the continuance of romantic plays at local festivals with local companies of actors, old repertoire, and mediaeval stagecraft, sometimes until the nineteenth century. Here I will summarize some of the most striking parts as showing that, away from the literary centers, the villages of England as well as of France have carried on their romantic drama after mediaeval fashion. Unfortunately, while the survival of mediaeval custom is fairly clear, the survival of secular plays from mediaeval times among the people is open to question, since, in a number of instances at least, plays can be shown to have passed into the repertoire of the folk after 1600. The case is illustrated in London by the drama of Bartholomew Fair. *The Creation of the World*, divided into the various parts of the cycle plays, survived here as a puppet play well into the eighteenth century. Further, many of the seventeenth-century plays at Bartholomew Fair of which we have accounts represent themes and an art that go back to a period before 1600. Romantic and wonder tales with clowns and devils are particularly popular in them. At times contemporary fashions of literary London did get their hold on the audience of the Fair, notably at the time of the ballad opera of Gay. This, however, was rather a case of returning to Bartholomew Fair its own. If the London literary drama found difficulty in entering the popular repertoire of Bartholomew Fair, it can be imagined that the drama of the people persisted with the greatest tenacity in the more remote districts. At any rate, such seems to have been the case.

A very interesting example of the survival of ancient drama at folk festivals is to be found in the Shropshire¹ wakes and fairs. An advertisement in the *Shrewsbury Chronicle* for August 1, 1777, promises the "usual Diversions of Stage Play," etc., for the Shawbury Wakes.² Though the Shropshire village plays died out early in the nineteenth century, a fairly full account of them was secured by Sir Offley Wakeman.³ The plays reported by him as best known in the region are *Prince Mucidorus*, *The Rigs of the Times*, *St. George and the Fiery Dragon*, *Valentine and Orson*, and *Dr. Forster (Faustus)*.⁴ Two of these are late sixteenth-century plays, *Mucedorus* and *Dr. Faustus*. *St. George and the Fiery Dragon* probably goes back to an older tradition still, and *The Rigs of the Times*, to judge from the extract given, is a morality type. *Valentine and Orson* represents a romantic theme originating possibly by the middle of the sixteenth century.⁵ According to the account given, the acting of these Shropshire plays was thoroughly mediaeval. The open-air stage on wagons, the use of an old manuscript⁶ preserved for the annual presentation, the acting of women's parts by boys, and the antics of the Fool, or Jester, who "played all manner of megrims," "going on with his manoeuvres all the time," vouch for an old tradition. So do, also, the presence of the chairman of the actors on the stage with his manuscript to serve as prompter; the large amount

¹ The career of drama in Shropshire seems to have been a long one. There is record of plays at Shrewsbury through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, among them a play in 1516 dealing with the martyrdoms of Saints Felliciana and Sabina, one on the Three Kings of Cologne in 1518, a school play of *Julian the Apostate* in 1565, and another of *The Passion of Christ* in 1567. An undated list of expenses for this period shows that a devil with gunpowder, a fool, and a morris were features of one play. Chambers, II, 250-55 and 394.

² Burne-Jackson, *Shropshire Folk-Lore*, p. 442.

³ Published in *Shropshire Archaeological Transactions*, VII, 383 ff., and quoted in Burne-Jackson, *Shropshire Folk-Lore*, pp. 493-500.

⁴ A Welsh work of 1703 refers to the performance of *Dr. Faustus* at Shrewsbury; cf. Burne-Jackson, p. 496, n. 1.

⁵ A pageant of Valentine and Orson appeared at the coronation of Edward VI, 1547. A play on the subject was entered on the Stationers' Register in 1595, and one is recorded by Henslowe in 1598. *Merlinus Anonymus*, 1654, gives ironic evidence of the popularity of the theme by naming King Pepin from the story of Valentine and Orson as a folk saint in a long list of such heroes made up very largely at least from characters in dramas.

⁶ I am told by Mr. Cecil J. Sharp that according to a surviving Egton sword dancer a manuscript once existed for the Plough Monday play acted at Egton and in the neighboring parts of Yorkshire in connection with the sword dance. The accounts of the play and the fragments collected indicate that it was a pure mummers' play, but considerably elaborated, as fourteen actors appeared and the play and dance required two hours.

of singing in the plays, especially the singing of the epilogue; the rewarding of the performers with cakes and ale; and the general dance that followed the performance. Miss Burne puts the case well when she says that "the open-air Stage-plays . . . performed in West Shropshire within the last half-century . . . seem to have remained in a state of 'arrested progress' for three hundred years; for nothing in them speaks of a later date than the performances of the 'country clowns' in the days of Shakspeare."¹

Traditional "stage-plays" were also known just west of Shropshire in Wales. Edwards' moralities at the end of the eighteenth century were in part reworked from old traditional moralities of wakes and fairs.² A traditional *Lear*, also, is heard of as acted in a barn about 1770.³ Le Braz suggests that these plays go back to the Renaissance and earlier. Welsh manuscripts of such moralities as Edwards' are preserved from the sixteenth century, and one of *King Lear* from an early period.⁴ An account of wake plays in Durham mentions only biblical plays. Hutchinson, in his history of Northumberland, describing these wakes, says: "Interludes were there performed, being a species of theatrical performance, consisting of a rehearsal of some passages in Holy Writ personated by actors."⁵ For Dent, Yorkshire, there is a record of a type of morality and pageant after the Restoration.⁶ Douce, who knew popular lore well, says of the St. George Christmas play and its relation to Johnson's version of the legend:

There is no doubt that many similar performances, taken from the more popular legends and romances, were performed at that and other seasons of festivity by the country folk, as well as at the fairs in booths.

I once met with a sturdy hind in Craven, who had been a blacksmith, and on that account had been very properly selected by his comrades to 'enact' *Colbrand the Dane*. I regret that I was then too young and too incurious to have taken down from his mouth the part at least that he had played.⁷

¹ *Shropshire Folk-Lore*, p. 493.

² Borrow, *Wild Wales*, chaps. lix, lx; and Le Braz, *Essai sur l'histoire du théâtre celtique*, pp. 73 ff.

³ Le Braz, *op. cit.*, p. 74; *Archæologia Cambrensis*, Fourth Series, II, 343, 344, and III, 70.

⁴ Le Braz, pp. 62, 63, 70, 71.

⁵ Quoted by Brand in *Popular Antiquities*, II, 11.

⁶ Dyer, *British Popular Customs*, pp. 367, 368.

⁷ Ormerod, *History of Cheshire*, I, lxxix.

Colbrand is mentioned as a popular hero in *Merlin Anonymous* in a list of dramatic and ballad saints. The main thread of the Guy of Warwick story, however, would seem to have been more pervasive in popular drama. In 1537 the legend was dramatized in France by Louvet in a *Miracle de Notre Dame de Liesse*.¹ Gosson's testimony to the conventionality of drama with the Guy of Warwick formula has already been cited. In 1618 a play on the subject was performed at Islington.² A few years later Jonson in the first intermean of *The Magnetic Lady* satirizes the use of the story in drama. The extant *Guy of Warwick* of 1639 is evidently a popular rather than a literary play.³ But most interesting of all is a reference in Nabbes's *Covent-Garden* (I, 1), 1636, to Guy of Warwick as one of the characters in a mummers' play.⁴

I have already claimed in connection with *The Old Wives Tale* that modern folk-lore supports the theory of a very old fairy-tale type of play among the people. In the remoter corners of England there have been preserved from the nineteenth century a few fragments and records of a lost fairy-tale and ballad drama, perhaps an old type of folk-drama. Thus, about the middle of the nineteenth century, William Bottrell gathered in Cornwall a full account and considerable fragments of an old play of the people, *Duffy and the Devil*. This is a version, rich in detail, of the widespread story usually known in England as "Tom Tit Tot" and in Germany as "Rumpelstilzchen."⁵ In *Duffy and the Devil* the other-world wooer, or evil spirit, who has done the wife a service, has her in his power

¹ Miss Hibbard, *Mod. Phil.*, XIII, 181-87.

² Crane, *Mod. Lang. Publ.*, XXIII (1915), 161.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 162-65.

⁴ Saint Guy ("Singuy") in a modern mummers' play is probably a survival of the same hero. Cf. Burne-Jackson, *Shropshire Folk-Lore*, p. 483.

⁵ Bottrell, *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall*, Second Series, pp. 1-26; Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England*, 1903, pp. 239-47.

Borlase, *The Natural History of Cornwall*, 1758, says of old Cornish mysteries: "Some faint remains of the same custom I have often seen in the west of Cornwall during the Christmas season, when at the family-feasts of gentlemen, the *Christmas Plays* were admitted, and some of the most learned among the vulgar (after leave obtained) entered in disguise, and before the gentry, who were properly seated, personated characters, and carried on miserable dialogues on Scripture-subjects; when their memory could go no farther, they filled up the rest of the entertainment with more puerile representations, the combats of puppets, the final victory of the hero of the drama, and death of his antagonist." Thurstan C. Peter, *Old Cornish Drama*, 1906, says after mentioning the St. George plays: "Even more degenerate, yet still a survival, are some of the sacred plays occasionally performed in rural chapels" (p. 48). Then follows an account of the presentation of "Joseph and his Brethren" by two rival chapels.

until she frees herself by guessing his riddle, that is, telling his name. There are traces of ballad drama on the same theme. The first ballad of Child's collection, "Riddles Wisely Expounded," gives a version from Rawlinson MS D. 328, about 1450, headed "*Inter diabolus et virgo*." Here, as is explained in the Sargent and Kittredge edition of the *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, "the devil threatens to carry off a maiden if she cannot answer certain riddles. She solves them all, and (at the end) calls the devil by his right name, thus no doubt putting him to flight." This primitive moralized ballad of the "Duffy and Devil" type may have been a song drama, for a short narrative introduction is followed by pure dialogue. Close akin to it is the second ballad of Child's collection, "The Elfin Knight." There is record of this ballad, also, as folk-drama. Baring-Gould says of a version from the north of Cornwall near Camelford: "This used to be sung as a sort of game in farm-houses, between a young man who went outside the room and a girl who sat on the settle or a chair, and a sort of chorus of farm lads and lasses."¹

An account of another play from Cornwall which has descended in folk-lore is given by Hunt in connection with some folk-tales of giants, evidently related to "Jack the Giant-Killer":

In some of the old *geese dances* (guise dances, from *danse déguisé*) the giant Blunderbuss and Tom performed a very active part. Blunderbuss was always a big-bellied fellow—his smoke-frock being well stuffed with straw. He fought with a tree, and the other giant with the wheel and axle. The giant [Blunderbuss] is destroyed, as in the story, by falling on the axle. The tinker [Jack] . . . with his unfailing coat of darkness,² comes in and beats Tom, until Jane [last wife of Blunderbuss, taken by Tom with the castle of Blunderbuss] comes out with the broom and beats the tinker; and then,—as in nearly all these rude plays,—St George and the Turkish knight come in; but they have no part in the real story of the drama.³

¹ Quoted by Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, IV, 439.

"Lady Odivere," mentioned below, has an other-world lover whose name is unknown to the lady. The riddle motive occurs also in "The Tale of Florent." In marriage ceremonies of various lands a song drama consisting of asking and answering riddles by those within and without the house, much as in the description of Baring-Gould, is usual. Cf. Ralston, *Songs of Russian People*, p. 353, for Russia; Hartmann, *Volksschauspiele*, pp. 120 ff., for Germany; J. P. Owen in *Academy*, December 21, 1895, for Wales; etc.

² Described in the second story rather as a coat of invulnerability (p. 61)—"of a shaggy black bull's hide . . . hard as iron." The other sections of this story give details of Jack's career as a giantkiller and tamer.

³ *Popular Romances of the West of England*, p. 60.

In the best known Cornish version of the St. George play,¹ St. George, after slaying the Dragon and the Turkish Knight, slays Giant Turpin. The giant Blunderbore appears again in an Oxfordshire mummers' play² with Little Jack—who has here become the giant's man—the Dragon, King Alfred, King Cole, etc.³ The decadence of the giant stories in mummers' plays is shown by the complete loss of all details of the action and the mere preservation of the characters as subordinate to the St. George motive.

In another version of a Cornish mummers' play, which has more varied elements of old popular drama than any other play that I have seen, one passage preserves, as I conjecture, a portion of an old play in which there is a fight with a boar on enchanted ground—a motive close akin to a part of *Sir Eglamour of Artois*. The lines are as follows:⁴

"P. Langdon 14"

What places is are,⁵ what seens appare; whare ever itorn mine eye[s],
tis all around in chantin ground and soft delusions rise;
floury mountins mos[s]y fountins, what will⁶ variety surprize
tis on the alow walks we walks an hundred ec[h]os⁷

¹ Published by Rhys in "*Everyman*" with *Other Interludes* (Everyman's Library), pp. 193-95.

² Manly, *Specimens of the Pre-Shakspearean Drama*, I, 289-92.

³ The cry of the mummers in this play, "Ho! men, Ho!" is at least as old as the seventeenth century in connection with the dragon fight, for in the burlesque description of the fight in "The Dragon of Wantley" the onset is thus described: "And the word it was, 'Hey, boys, hey!'" Cf. *Roxburghe Ballads* (Ballad Society), VIII, 415 ff.

⁴ Thurstan C. Peter, Esq., of Redruth, Cornwall, has very kindly sent me a complete copy of the manuscript of this play. The manuscript and the part of the play that seems to preserve an old popular play on Henry V and Agincourt are described in 10 *Notes and Queries*, V, 109, and VII, 75. Besides the part dealing with Agincourt, the passage on the boar, and a very detailed St. George play, there is a passage which seems to preserve a comic scene, possibly an old *intermède*. The play was written down as prose by an illiterate mummer, and the names of the actors instead of the dramatis personae are given. This play, like other mummers' plays, goes to show that the lines were recalled by a sheer effort of the memory and not by any understanding of them. I hope to publish soon a copy of a Lincolnshire play of 1824 from Brit. Museum Add. MS 33418, which illustrates my point and shows how long the folk memory can carry words not understood. The Lincolnshire play includes practically the whole of the Induction of *Wily Beguiled*, and there are a number of expressions that cannot be understood without reference to the original, and could have meant nothing to the actors.

⁵ here.

⁶ which with.

⁷ It seems impossible to determine the original form of this line and of the second half of the next one. Probably in addition to partial lines which gave the inner rhyme, a whole line rhyming with the fourth has been lost. On the other hand, it is possible that there was a variation in verse forms here in the original, and the fourth line should read:

'Tis on this hallowed walk
An hundred echoes wake.

round us stock from hils to hils¹ the voices tost
 rocks rebounding ec[h]os resounding, not one single words was lost.

“Henry Crossman 15”

Behould on yander risen ground the bour that woander[s];
 Ever ending ever bending, glades an glades, shades an shades
 runing on eternall round.²

Fragmentary as this scene is, several things suggest that it is a remnant of some ancient romantic play rather than of a ballad or modern song. In the first place, though there is no dialogue, the passage is essentially dramatic in the attempt of the speakers to present vividly the scene that is entered. In the second place, enough of the original form of the meter is left to indicate that the long ballad couplet with inner rhyme for the second and fourth feet was used. This meter is found throughout the song drama “The Nut Brown Maid,” and sporadically in *Cambises* and in the oldest Elizabethan heroic plays, *Common Conditions* (ll. 33–44, etc.) and *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes*. A point is very obviously made of it in Shakspeare’s satire on folk productions in the “Pyramus and Thisbe” of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, and also in the satire on the crude players in *Histriomastix*, though here the movement is anapestic. The same meter occurs in one passage of the Oxford *Narcissus* (ll. 305–16), where there is similar satire on the folk. So far as I know, however, it is used very little elsewhere in Elizabethan literature. It may have been a popular device of old romantic dramas. Finally, that this fragment of a mummers’ play is a survival from old metrical romance themes seems probable, and it suggests the boar scene of *Sir Eglamour of Artois*. Indeed, the *Eglemour and Degrebelle* which was played in 1444 might as readily have come down to the mummers as might the stories of giants. At any rate, there is evidence of a considerable vogue of the Eglamour theme among the folk.³

¹ round us still from hill to hill?

² Possibly the original was:

Glades and glades, shades and shades, running an eternal round,
 Never ending, ever bending. Behold on yonder rising ground
 The boar that wanders.

³ The enchanted-boar story is found in a ballad of the Percy Folio MS called “Sir Lionel” (Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, No. 18), and in modern versions of this ballad—all clearly related to *Sir Eglamour of Artois*. The name “Sir Egrabell” given to the father of Sir Lionel seems to be a combination of the two names Eglamour

The Cornish plays seem to me significant less as a relic of Cornwall than as a relic of a lost drama in English which must have existed in other regions also. Their preservation in Cornwall was probably due to the remoteness of the region and hence to the survival of older culture.¹ There are, indeed, records of a few plays from other regions of Great Britain. Recently an account of the performance of a fairy-tale drama, *The Golden Ball*, by the folk in the region of Southport along the Welsh border has been given by Miss A. G. Gilchrist, together with some fragments of the play.² The closely related ballad, "The Maid Freed from the Gallows," discussed by Miss Gilchrist, occurs in a pure dialogue form in one of Child's versions.³ This ballad was performed as drama about 1840 in Forfarshire,⁴ and an account of its performance by negro children in America has recently been published.⁵

and Degrabell. The name "Eglamour" was popular in Elizabethan plays. It is found in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *The Merchant of Venice*, and *The Sad Shepherd*. Another ballad of the Percy MS, "Sir Cawline," is related to a different motive of the same romance (Child, No. 61). During the seventeenth century "Sir Eglamore" (or "Courage Crowned with Conquest"), a ballad with a burlesque description of the battle of Eglamour and the dragon, was often printed in collections and broadsides; cf. *Roxburghe Ballads* (Ballad Society), III, 606-9. One expression in *Sir Eglamour of Artois*, "the worme . . . wyld," used for the dragon, occurs in *The Revesby Sword Play* as describing a monster that appears with the dragon (*Sir Eglamour of Artois*, II, 707, 708; *Revesby Play*, II, 20, 40).

¹ Mediaeval dramatic types and technique largely lost among the French but surviving in the Basque and Breton countries and tongues are discussed below.

² *Jour. Eng. Folk-Song Soc.*, V (1915), 233, 234.

³ *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, No. 95.

⁴ Cf. 6 *Notes and Queries*, VI, 476; Child, II, 354.

⁵ C. Alphonso Smith, *Musical Quarterly*, January, 1916. I am indebted to Professor A. H. Tolman for this reference.

Perhaps a further hint of old romantic drama which once existed among the folk is the fact that in a number of mummers' plays belonging to Scotland and the north of England there are certain lines suggestive of an other-world visit appropriate to the *renouveau* motive. In the Pace Egg play published at Manchester about 1835 (Brit. Mus., 1077 g. 37 [27]), perhaps the oldest of the group of plays showing this motive, Hector, dying after a battle with St. George, hears a silver trumpet sound, and says,

Down yonder is the way.

Farewell St. George I can no longer stay.

Then Old Bold Ben enters and challenges St. George, who promises to

. . . cross the water at the hour of five

to meet him. The last line in particular is practically invariable in this group of plays. The Pace Egg play also has a passage in which St. George tells of slaying a giant and freeing a lady.

A Somerset play (Brit. Mus. Add. MS 24546) preserves a few lines referring to a meeting with Robin Hood. In the "calling-on" song of the unpublished Sowerby sword dance and play, collected by Cecil J. Sharp, Bold Robin Hood is called in as one of the dancers and replies.

From another remote district, Orkney, we have record of a feast play that may deserve mention here. W. T. D[ennison] has printed a ballad¹ which he spent forty years in gathering, "The Play o' de Lathie Odivere." He explains his title as follows:

In the olden times, Orcadians at their convivial meetings amused themselves by rude dramatical representations. . . . In these performances the menyè-singers acted the principal part. They were professionals hired to sing, recite, or act for the entertainment of the company.

This ballad was at one time represented as a drama by the menyè-singers. This fact influenced me in adopting one of its old names, namely, play, in preference to other names by which the ballad was known—such as rhyme, ballan, teel.

Whether this dramatic presentation was more than a minstrel recital of a romance it is difficult to tell. Parts of the ballad that Dennison has pieced together from tradition might well be fragments of a drama. The English form is comparatively modern, however. The story is very similar to the old *lais*, having conventions found in *Tydorel*, *Sir Gowther*, etc., and we see here at least a suggestion of the performance among the folk of stories belonging to the same type as Gower's "Tale of Florent."²

V

To emphasize more fully (1) the value of these traditional plays for the study of the past, and (2) the probable great similarity between the mediaeval drama of England and the contiguous countries of the Continent which is suggested by the great similarity of art, custom, and repertoire in the traditional drama of the two regions, I am giving, at what I hope will not seem unwarranted length, a sketch of the more formal romantic drama as it has survived in France.

Scattering and fragmentary as it is, much evidence points to a vogue of romantic drama in France from the fourteenth century on. A number of romantic types that existed prior to 1500 have already been mentioned for their possible bearing on English drama. Village

¹ *Scottish Antiquary*, VIII, 53 ff.; reprinted in *Folk-Lore of Orkney* (Folk-Lore Society), pp. 235 ff.

² Cf. for France, *Revue des traditions populaires*, III, 428-30, "Gargantua au théâtre" in Provence; and IX, 240-42, "Les Contes de Perrault chez les forains." The origin of these, however, seems to be modern.

and festival performances by local companies as well as performances by more formal organizations flourished in France earlier than we can trace them in England. Thus, in 1392, a performance of *Robin et Marion* is described "ainsi qu'il est accoustumé de faire, chascun an, en les foiries de Penthecouste en la ditte ville d'Angiers; par les gens du pays, tant par les escoliers et fils de bourgeois, comme autres";¹ and an account for Amiens in 1402 reads: "Pour ce que, la veille de Saint Firmin les josnes gens de la ville d'Amiens ont accoutumez de soy jouer et esbattre et faire jeux de personnaiges," etc.²

An excellent example of the continuation of tradition through a long period without connecting links left in the records is furnished by the Miracles de Notre Dame. Between the time of the forty-two plays belonging to the fourteenth century and the reappearance of such plays near the middle of the sixteenth century, one theme—that of Cangé MS, No. XXXI—is known to have been treated in the play of *Berthe et Pépin* at Compiègne in 1455.³ An account of a miracle at Metz in 1512 shows that the play was the same as *L'Enfant donné au diable*, No. I of the Cangé MS,⁴ while Petit de Julleville gives good reason for believing that *Le Chevalier qui avait donné sa femme au diable*, first published in 1544—a play of the same name was acted in 1541—belongs to the fourteenth century.⁵ Louvet's twelve Miracles de Notre Dame de Liesse,⁶ performed between 1536 and 1550, are like the older plays in type of story and in the prevalence of romantic themes. Reference has already been made to the fact that the first one is on the same romantic theme as No. IV of the Cangé MS, *La Femme du Roi de Portugal*, and that Petit de Julleville comments on the similarity in treatment.

For the town of Béthune in the border region between France and the Netherlands⁷ there are records of plays at no great intervals from before the middle of the fifteenth century to the latter half of

¹ Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire*, pp. 324 f.

² *Ibid.*, p. 326.

³ Petit de Julleville, *Les Mystères*, II, 26.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 102.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 140, 335 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 608 ff.

⁷ Something like a continuous tradition for romantic plays can at least be made out for this region. Cf. Creizenach, III, 47, for a suggestion of the importance of the region in the development of romantic drama.

the sixteenth. Plays were given by organized companies and by groups of scholars, but often also by groups of local actors on festival occasions. In addition to farce and religious drama the plays include "La Destruction de Liège" in 1469, "ung jus de la Fortune que olt le Roy de Castille et la royne sur le mer" in 1506, "un grant jeu de personnaiges traitant d'une histoire romaine intitulée du roy de Gascoigne" in 1509, and "Le jugement du Roy d'Aragon" in 1526.¹ But Béthune may be typical of many French towns where records are not so complete, for romantic plays at various places in France are recorded during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. A *Griseldis* was performed at Metz in 1488;² a "Joueu de chevalier errant" at Saint Omer in 1530;³ a play on the judgment of Duke Charles four times at Besançon in 1548;⁴ a *Huon de Bordeaux* at Paris in 1557 by the Confrérie de la Passion;⁵ and a play in the same period by the same organization, in which "un roi Mabriant" appeared.⁶

Mediaeval drama lost its hold at Paris about the middle of the sixteenth century when the official attacks on the religious drama were fully launched.⁷ It survived lingeringly, however, in many provinces and found a retreat particularly in the Basque and Breton corners of France,⁸ carrying with it, as I conjecture, some form of a number of mediaeval romantic plays. These two regions, widely separated as they are, show a remarkable coincidence in the customs

¹ Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire*, pp. 340, 358, 360-61, 370. Cf. Creizenach, III, 473, for a Dutch play of 1523 dealing with the "König von Aragon und seiner Tochter."

² Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire*, p. 347; cf. *Les Mystères*, II, 60.

³ *Répertoire*, p. 377.

⁴ Creizenach, III, 47. Reference is also made here to another romantic play of the same year at Besançon.

⁵ Creizenach, III, 48.

⁶ Lancaster, *The French Tragi-Comedy*, p. 7. For a number of romantic plays, chiefly from novelle, in the second half of the sixteenth century in various parts of France, cf. Lanson, *Revue d'Hist. litt. de la France*, X (1903), 180 ff. Themes from heroic romance appear in the records of the various countries of Europe between the end of the fifteenth century and the middle of the sixteenth. Creizenach gives accounts of such themes in Italian plays (I, 329 f.); in the Fastnachtspiele (I, 415, 416, 419, 428 ff.); in the plays of Gil Vicente (III, 193 ff.); in the plays of Hans Sachs (III, 424); and in Dutch plays (III, 473).

⁷ Petit de Julleville, *Les Mystères*, I, 429; Le Braz, *Essai sur l'hist. du théâtre celtique*, pp. 492, 493.

⁸ For the derivation of the traditional plays of these regions from French originals, cf. Le Braz, *op. cit.*, chap. vi, for Brittany, and *Krit. Jahresbericht Rom. Phil.*, 1911-12, I, 64, 65 for the Basque provinces.

of their traditional drama; and, what is more interesting, much the same customs mark the performance of mummers' plays and of the traditional Shropshire plays in England as well as of mediaeval drama in general.

In both regions local troupes with men or boys playing the female parts gave their plays¹ at annual festivals such as Whitsun, Easter, saints' days, or fairs. The actors in costume, which was elaborate and ornamented where possible, went in procession to the place of performance.² The stage was a platform in the open air, a curtain cutting off a part of the back. The ordinary entrances were from the two extreme ends as in Elizabethan theaters. Certain privileged classes were allowed seats on the side of the stage. According to Basque custom, the pagans used one side as a conventional entrance, and here was placed their *idole*, a figure carried in procession like English giants and dragons. The entrance for the Christians at the other side was decorated with garlands and flowers. The lines of the plays were chanted, the stress following the chant monotonously. In addition, large parts of the Basque plays were practically sung to music. Specific traditional airs, some Basque and some French, were played for prologue and epilogue, for entrances of Christians and of Turks, for lyrics, for battles, for dances, for the final hymn, etc.³ Long prologues and epilogues also were the rule in both the Basque and the Breton plays. These were divided into stanzas of four lines, and for each stanza there was a *marche*, three *marches* finishing out practically the movement of the Greek chorus. Clownish characters appeared in burlesque and lively scenes. In the Breton plays⁴ separate actions, or *intermèdes*, for these characters existed, though Le Braz indicates a rather minor development of such independent comic actions, but in the Basque plays *intermèdes* presenting satiric and Rabelaisian scenes for the comic characters were common.⁵

¹ The plays still linger, though they are moribund. For my material I have consulted J. Vinson, *Folk-Lore du pays basque*, 1883, pp. xviii ff. and 309 ff.; G. Hérelle, *Les Pastorales basques*, 1903; A. Le Braz, *Essai sur l'histoire du théâtre celtique*, 1904; and various volumes of *Revue Celtique*.

² Cf. Blomefield, *Hist. of Norfolk*, IV, 426, for a similar customary proceeding on St. Thomas à Becket's Day.

³ There is evidence that originally the amount of music was equally great in the Breton plays. Cf. Le Braz, pp. 406 and 431.

⁴ Le Braz, pp. 413 f.

⁵ Hérelle gives a list of these comic *intermèdes*.

Devils with mediaeval names were the chief source of grotesquery, comic intrigue, and buffoonery in plays of both regions, and "Satans" formed one of the three distinct groups of characters in the Basque plays. In addition to the comic scenes, there were regularly interspersed dances,¹ which in Brittany were performed by all the actors, while among the Basques Satans performed the wild dances. In both regions a collection followed a long epilogue. This was taken during the close of the epilogue in the Breton country, though a small fee had already been charged for entrance to a space near the stage, but in the Basque country, where the plays were free and wine was served free, collectors followed the distributors of wine. The Basque plays terminated with dances by groups from the villages, and the proceeds of the performance were spent on a feast. The concluding dance was omitted from the Breton plays, but the feast ended the celebration.²

Not only do the customs of presentation in these plays clearly survive from mediaeval drama,³ but in practically every detail they parallel those of the Shropshire wake plays discussed above. Further, scarcely a custom of the English mummers fails to find a place here, particularly in the Basque plays. Examples are the festival performance, the ornamentation, the frequency of sung parts, the interspersed and final dances,⁴ the semicircle or line from which actors advance, some type of marching, the presence of devils and clowns, buffoonery and drolleries, the final song or sung epilogue with the request for gifts, the accompanying collection, and the feast of the folk at the close of the festival. Most interesting of all is the parallel between the plays in the general formula. Turkish kings with black faces fighting against such Christian champions as Abraham, Jeremiah, Vespasian, Charlemagne, and Godfrey of Boulogne form the

¹ Early in the sixteenth century Erasmus in his colloquy *Diversoria* has the following reference to what seems a similar mediaeval custom: "Hoc pacto totum convivium temperant, quemadmodum solent actores fabularum, qui scenis admiscunt choros; isti istis alternis miscent offas et pultes" (Erasmi *Opera Omnia*, 1703, I, 717).

² Vinson mentions Basque plays ranging in length from 2,000 to 7,000 lines. The Breton plays range from 5,000 to 9,000 lines (Le Braz, p. 413). These last are divided into *journées*, three being usual, but they add a modern touch in the division into acts also. The performances in both regions lasted from ten or eleven in the forenoon until late afternoon.

³ Le Braz, pp. 415 ff.

⁴ Cf. especially the *Revesby Play*.

staple of the Basque plays.¹ The mummers' plays of England usually show St. George as the Christian hero fighting most frequently against the "Turkish Knight," whose face is conventionally black. In Scotland, Galations, or Galgacus, is the Christian hero. But heroes of romance, Christian legend, or history, such as Alexander, Hector, King Alfred, Giant Turpin, St. Guy, and St. Patrick, appear in a way which suggests that the folk have retained in their drama a dim trace of ancient dramatic heroes other than St. George.

The evidence for tradition in the subjects of individual Basque and Breton plays is not so definite. More than half of the plays are mysteries or miracles, and these must have descended in most cases from mediaeval drama. But modern stories also enter. Hérelle records a trilogy on Napoleon, and both Vinson and Le Braz speak of the adaptation of popular romantic plays from chapbooks. Vinson shows that a *Quatre Fils Aymon* of 1875 is based on such a book,² and Le Braz makes clear a similar derivation of a *Huon de Bordeaux*.³ It does not seem to me, however, that any convincing evidence is given in regard to the first introduction of such stories. Older Basque manuscripts of the *Quatre Fils Aymon* exist than the one based on a chapbook,⁴ and a Breton drama on the subject was printed in 1818.⁵ Several other Breton versions of *Huon de Bordeaux* exist also, one from the eighteenth century.⁶ The most prolific author of these "pastoral" plays, Jobic Coat, is spoken of by Le Braz as one who "n'a guère fait qu'y pratiquer des remaniements,"⁷ and in the prologue of one piece the author says that he "l'a versifiée à nouveau, autrement qu'elle n'était . . . parce qu'il avait vu l'histoire en français."⁸ Names and dates are commonly attached to the manuscripts, but they usually represent the names of copyists and the

¹ Vinson, p. 312. The Turks are conquered or converted, though aided by the Satans. English mummers' plays in much the same words represent the Turk as victor in one play and St. George in another.

² Pp. xix, xx.

³ Pp. 327 ff.

⁴ Cf. Hérelle, pp. 19 f., for manuscripts of about 1800 and of 1851.

⁵ Le Braz, p. 189.

⁶ Le Braz, pp. 520-21; *Revue Celtique*, V, 319, 320, 323.

⁷ P. 451.

⁸ Le Braz, p. 441.

dates of the copying of older manuscripts.¹ Few manuscripts, it is true, go back of the eighteenth century, but this is rather to be expected in view of the evidence for the rapid decay of manuscripts, the frequent destruction of old ones, and the habit of modernizing the plays.² Plays from miracles and from heroic romances occur very frequently in various manuscripts. Indeed, it is for such plays that the manuscripts are most numerous,³ are often among the oldest extant, and show relations to each other indicating the constant reworking of favorite themes. As the mysteries of York and Coventry were reworked for generations, or old Welsh plays were revised by Edwards, these Basque and Breton plays have apparently been reworked again and again. The people were so wedded to their favorite old themes that new ones entered slowly.

Here it will be sufficient to point out how the themes and conventions of the plays the analyses of which I have seen parallel those of the fourteenth-century Cangé MS of the *Miracles de Notre Dame* and the early popular romantic drama in England. Themes of the Constance and Eustace types—of calumniated women cast away and wrecked at sea, of separated families, etc.—which, as has been pointed out, prevailed in the earliest English romantic drama known, and played so important a part in the French *Miracles de Notre Dame* of the fourteenth century,⁴ are possibly the most popular themes among the Basque and Breton plays both in miracles and in purer romantic form. Here belong *Geneviève de Brabant* and *Hélène de Constantinople*, rather romance plays than miracles, and exceedingly popular in both regions. The Basque *Célestine* and *Princesse de Cazmira* are romances of the same type.⁵ In the Breton *Vie de saint Pierre et de saint Paul* the material has been enormously enlarged by the addition of the legend of St. Clement, a detailed version of this type of story.⁶ And the list could be continued.

¹ *Revue Celtique*, V, 318 ff.; Le Braz, chap. v; etc.

² Vinson, pp. xviii-xxviii; Le Braz, chap. v.

³ On the other hand, apparently only Coat's original manuscript of his adaptation of Racine's *Mithridate* exists (Le Braz, pp. 451, 521).

⁴ Of these plays in the Cangé MS, besides XXIX and XXXII, XII and XXVII tell of the calumniated lady and XXVII and XXXVII of the adventures at sea.

⁵ Vinson, pp. 341-42 and 344-45.

⁶ Le Braz, pp. 288 ff.

Another theme suggesting a remote antiquity is that of supreme arrogance and incorrigibility. If we may judge from the mummers' plays the theme must have found expression in England at least in the St. George plays. The Herod of the biblical plays is a related figure. In Robert the Devil the conception found its most elaborate expression, but except in the possible disguising of an Englishman as Robert the Devil at Guisnes,¹ I have found no record of him in English pageant or play. One of the plays of the Cangé MS, however, deals with the story, and *Robert le Diable* was a popular play in both Brittany and the Basque region. Similar themes are especially frequent in Breton plays. The legend of St. Laurent, which is dramatized in the Cangé MS, is found as a Breton play, with the evil career of a child of the devil added. *Guillaume, Comte de Poitou*, one of the favorite plays of the Bretons, combines this motive with that of conquest. Count William conquers towns and kingdoms; slays in boasting combat the kings of Turkey, Hibernia, and Persia; overthrows the pope, establishing a false one; and takes his brother's wife; but after a long period of scorn for all moral appeals, he is finally converted and becomes a hermit.²

The motive of the conflict between Christians and Turks, which, as I have indicated, may be regarded less as one theme of the plays than as the motivating force of this traditional drama, at least of the Basques—like the conflict between virtues and vices in the morality play—was thought by Vinson³ to be a survival from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. At any rate, it seems to have been an early convention of secular pageant and drama on the Continent. The pageant of 1378 in Belgium in which Christians under Godfrey of Boulogne conquered the Saracens in Jerusalem has already been described. In 1389 a scene from *Le Pas Saladin* which was not altogether dumb-show presented at Paris Richard's battle with the Saracens.⁴ In 1460 the conflict motive appeared in the play *L'Histoire*

¹ *L. and P. Henry VIII*, III, 1555.

² In 1532 at Laval on the border of the Breton country "fust joué en la vallée de la Morigniere le mystere de l'*Ermite meudrier* qui dura neuf jours." Petit de Julleville, *Les Mystères*, II, 119, conjectures that this play may have been on the story of Saint Jean le Paulu, which is treated in a *Miracle de Notre Dame*, No. XXX of the Cangé MS. It at least shows the early popularity and elaborate expansion of stories of the Count William type.

³ Pp. xix and 323.

⁴ Creizenach, I, 376.

ou *Jeux de la ville de Constantinople*, at Arles,¹ and in 1497 in Locher's *Tragedia de Thurcis et Suldano*,² which has among its characters the Sultan of Egypt and Bajazet—the subject of one of the Basque plays. Other examples could be cited. The vogue of the oriental seems to have developed early in Great Britain. The author of *Colkelbie Sow* in the fifteenth century, describing the masked dances of the Scottish peasants, says:

Sum *The Cane of Tartary*
 Sum *The Soldane of Surry*
 All his dansis defynd
 Sum *Pretir Johnie of grit Ynd*
 Sum As the *Ethiopsis* vsit
 Sum futit and sum refusit
 Some had dansis mony ma
 W^t all the dansis of *Asia*
 Sum of *Affrickis* age
 And principale of *Cartage*.³

It is reasonable to suppose that a king of Egypt was one of the characters in the *Eglemour and Degrebelle* of 1444. Masques of Turks and Moors were popular at the English court from the early part of the sixteenth century. The group of Turks opposing a Christian peace in the disguising of 1518 described above illustrates perfectly the conflict motive of the pastorales. In 1564 Udall in his *Ezechias* represents the insolent leader of the Assyrians as a giant and his men as coal-black.⁴ According to Sidney, it was common about 1580 for the scenes of popular romantic plays to be laid in Asia and Africa. Examples of the oriental monarch and conqueror in the Elizabethan drama are, of course, frequent.

The very names of the romantic plays in the repertoire of the Basque and Breton pastorales usually enforce this mediaeval color. Plays found in both regions are *Charlemagne ou les Douze Pairs de France*, *La Destruction de Jérusalem*, *Jérusalem délivrée ou Godefroi de*

¹ Creizenach, I, 377.

² *Ibid.*, II, 31, 32. Gegenbach's *Nollhart* dealing with Turks was performed at Basle in 1515 (*ibid.*, III, 240).

³ Laing, *Early Popular Poetry of Scotland*, ed. Hazlitt, I, 194.

⁴ Cf. Hartwell's account in Boas, *University Drama*, pp. 94 ff. The battles, the siege, and the comic scenes are also typically mediaeval.

Bouillon, *Robert le Diable*, *Les Quatre Fils Aymon*, and *Jean de Paris*. Among the Bretons such titles are to be found as *Orson et Valentin*, *Huon de Bordeaux*, *La Princesse Athénaisé, fille du roi de Lombardie*, and *Pierre de Provence et la belle Maguelonne*; among the Basque people, *Alexandre*, *Astyage*, *Kouli-Khan*, *Bajazet*, *Mustapha*, etc.¹ Perhaps *La Destruction de Jérusalem*—paralleled in England by the Coventry play—which is said to date from the fifteenth century in Brittany,² is most suggestive of mediaeval tradition. There are also here parallels to the English plays of the sixteenth century which marked the rise of a popular romantic drama. *Valentine and Orson*, *Huon of Bordeaux*, *The Four Sons of Aymon*, and *Godfrey of Boulogne*, all drawn from heroic romances, are recorded as plays by Henslowe at the end of the sixteenth century, and all were perhaps revisions of old popular plays.³ *Valentine and Orson* as a Shropshire wake play has already been discussed. The Basque dramatization of the story of the Persian King Astiage seems very similar in material and method⁴ to the early English *Cambises*, a play which has all the marks of popular production;⁵ and *Kouli-Khan*, *Mustapha*, and *Bajazet* of the Basque region suggest the oriental plays of the late eighties.

My excuse for presenting these parallels is, of course, my belief that the similarity in repertoires is due at least in part to a common romantic stock in the drama of France and England of which we lack the records. I am aware that the simplicity of popular taste and the vogue of the same romances in chapbook form in the two countries may account for a similar independent development, but such an explanation does not seem to me adequate. Certainly in the Breton district the chapbooks that sold most extensively were apparently those dealing with the well-known stories of the dramas,⁶ and the greatest favor of the people has been extended throughout the era of chapbooks to what is best known.

¹ Three interesting plays of this region are *Richard sans peur, duc de Normandie*, *Le Roi Henri d'Angleterre*, and *Le Comte Warwick*.

² Le Braz, p. 190.

³ Cf. Greg, *Henslowe's Diary*, II, 158, 166, 195, and 227.

⁴ Cf. Vinson, pp. 326 ff., for an analysis of the play.

⁵ Cf. Manly's estimate, *Cambridge Hist. Eng. Lit.*, VI, 321.

⁶ Le Braz, pp. 324 ff.

But, without pressing the argument on matters too highly conjectural for proof, I have tried to present succinctly the evidence for my belief that the mediaeval drama included much romance, that the known romantic drama of the sixteenth century in England was in all probability indebted to older dramatic tradition to a much greater degree than we can prove, and that in part the mediaeval repertoire and stage customs found in the traditional drama of England and France must have come down in popular tradition from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

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